A NEW
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,

FROM THE

DESCENT of the ROMANS,

TO THE

DEMISE of his late Majesty, GEORGE II.

INSCRIBED TO

His present Majesty, GEORGE III.

By WILLIAM RIDER, A. B.
Late of *Jesus College, Oxford.*

HISTORY *is philosophy teaching by examples.*
Bolingbroke *from* Dion. Hali.

VOL. XXX.

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THE

History of ENGLAND.

The HISTORY of WILLIAM III. continued. A. D. 1698.

THOUGH William had compelled Lewis to acknowledge his title, he was yet afraid, that, while the late king ſhould continue to reſide in France, cabals and intrigues would ſtill be forming againſt his perſon and government: and he therefore diſpatched the earl of Portland, as his

ambaſſador to Paris, in order, if poſſible, to obtain the diſmiſſion of that prince to Avignon, in which caſe he promiſed to ſettle upon him a handſome penſion; as well as to procure ſome indulgence in favour of the French proteſtants, who were now ſubjected to a moſt cruel perſecution.

The earl was accompanied with a ſplendid retinue of the Engliſh nobility and gentry, and was received at Paris, as well as in every other part of France, with particular marks of honour and diſtinction; but notwithſtanding theſe expreſſions of regard, he was able to prevail in neither part of his commiſſion. Lewis was reſtrained, by a ſenſe of honour, from granting his firſt demand: his bigotry prevented him from yielding to the ſecond.

During the earl's abode in France, he was preſent at a review of the houſhold troops, which was held in the plain of Archers, before the king, the dauphin, the young princes, and ſeveral perſons of the firſt quality. King James and the titular prince of Wales were likewiſe in the company, and exerted their utmoſt endeavours to join converſation with the Engliſh ambaſſador and his attendants: but the latter induſtriouſly avoided every opportunity of meeting; and the former were diſappointed in their expectations.

Mr.

Mr. Prior, the poet, who was ſecretary to this embaſſy, being one day conducted through the royal apartments, and ſhown, among other curioſities, thoſe fine pieces of Le Brun, which repreſent the French king's victories; was aſked by his guide, whether king William's victories were not likewiſe to be ſeen in his palace? "No," replied Mr. Prior, "the monuments of my maſter's victories are to be ſeen every where but in his own houſe."

With regard to the earl of Portland himſelf, he was ſo far from gaining any thing by his embaſſy, that, on the contrary, he found, at his return to England, that he was ſupplanted in the king's favour, by a young Dutch nobleman, of the name of Keppel, now advanced to the earldom of Albemarle; who, by a rapid and ſurpriſing progreſs, ſeemed entirely to have engroſſed the royal ear. The two favourites continued, for ſome time, to view each other with a jealous eye; till, at laſt, the earl of Portland, piqued at the ſuperior intereſt of his rival, reſigned all his employments, and retired from court.

The French commiſſary, who was ſent to London to regulate the tariff between the two nations, was as unſucceſsful in his endeavours for that purpoſe, as the earl of Portland had been in his embaſſy. This

diſappointment was owing to ſeveral cauſes. The parliament had loaded the French commodites with ſuch heavy duties, that few were willing to engage in that branch of commerce. The Engliſh ſupplied themſelves with wines from Italy, Spain and Portugal; with linnen from Holland and Sileſia: and manufactures of paper, ſtuffs, hats, and ſilks, had been ſet up, and ſucceſsfully carried on in England, by the French refugees, who had come into the kingdom. *

About this time, a violent ferment was raiſed in Scotland, by the diſcouragements which their new company had ſuſtained. They

* On the fifth day of January, a fire breaking out at Whitehall, through the careleſſneſs of a laundreſs, the whole body of the palace, with the gallery, council-chamber, and ſeveral adjoining apartments, was entirely conſumed; and ſuch was the violence of the flames, that the banqueting-houſe, of which the king was extremely fond, and for the preſervation of which he exerted his utmoſt endeavours, could, with great difficulty, be preſerved.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, the earl of Macclesfield obtained a divorce from his lady, who had long lived in a ſtate of ſeparation. The earl, unwilling to publiſh his ſhame to the world, had long connived at her irregular conduct; but finding that the lady was leſs delicate, and that ſhe had even been lately delivered of two daughters, he was at laſt perſuaded to apply to his peers, who readily granted him that redreſs, which the laws of his country allowed him.

They had procured a number of ſubſcriptions in England, Holland, and Hamburgh, and ſeemed in a fair way of carrying their ſcheme into execution. The Engliſh and Dutch companies took the alarm, and exerted their utmoſt endeavours to defeat the project. The king was even perſuaded to allow his reſident at Hamburgh to preſent a memorial to the ſenate of that city, in which he diſavowed the act of parliament and letters patent, which had been paſſed in favour of the Scots, and threatened the inhabitants with his diſpleaſure, in caſe they ſhould join them in their undertaking.

The Scottiſh company, enraged at this oppoſition, preferred a remonſtrance to their own parliament, which was now aſſembled, repreſenting the great obſtructions they had met with, and the many grievances and hardſhips under which they laboured. The parliament preſented an addreſs to his majeſty; and this was followed by a petition from the company itſelf: but neither of theſe was attended with any good effect.

The company, baffled in this attempt, wrote a letter to lord Seafield, ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, entreating him to uſe his good offices with the king, in order to procure them ſuch redreſs and aſſiſtance as his majeſty, in his great wiſdom, ſhould deem

juſt and proper. The ſecretary replied, that he would take the firſt favourable opportunity of executing their commiſſion; but that he could not at preſent comply with their requeſt, as the attention of his majeſty was wholly engroſſed by the affairs of the Engliſh parliament.

Soon after, the king ſettled the houſhold of the duke of Glouceſter, who was now entering the tenth year of his age, and gave manifeſt proofs of an excellent genius, and a ſweet diſpoſition. The earl of Marlborough, who had been lately reſtored to favour, was appointed his governor, and the biſhop of Saliſbury, his preceptor. Notwithſtanding the diſgrace which Marlborough had lately undergone, the king was always convinced of his great merit and abilities. When he delivered the young prince to his care, he ſaid, "My lord, teach him but to "be what you are, and my nephew cannot "want accompliſhments."

William was, at this time, revolving in his mind a project of the utmoſt importance to the general intereſts of Europe. This was a plan for ſettling the ſucceſſion to the crown of Spain, which, in a little time, would be vacated by the death of Charles the ſecond, whoſe conſtitution was already exhauſted.

The

The competitors were, the electoral prince of Bavaria, grandſon to a daughter of Spain; the archduke Charles, ſecond ſon of the emperor, who was likewiſe related, though in a more remote degree, to the ſame family, and upon whom Philip the fourth, the late king of Spain, had ſettled the ſucceſſion of the Spaniſh dominions: and the dauphin of France, ſon to Maria Thereſa, daughter of the ſame monarch, and ſiſter to the preſent king of Spain, but whoſe right his father, Lewis the fourteenth, when he eſpouſed the Spaniſh princeſs, had formally and expreſsly renounced.

Thus the right of the electoral prince depended ſolely on the connexion of blood, without any act either in ſupport or diminution of his title: the right of the archduke, beſides the plea of conſanguinity, was farther confirmed by a formal grant of the Spaniſh crown, ratified by the laſt will of the late ſovereign of thoſe dominions: and the right of the dauphin, ariſing ſolely from the principle of deſcent, had been cancelled and aboliſhed by the ſolemn renunciation of his father.

Lewis, however, who was never very ſcrupulous in adhering to his word, was firmly reſolved, notwithſtanding the renunciation he had made, to aſſert his ſon's claim to the

Spaniſh

Spaniſh throne; and, with that view, had prepared a numerous fleet and army, in order to invade the territories of Spain, the moment he ſhould hear of the death of the preſent ſovereign.

King William, had he been allowed to follow his own inclinations, would have been extremely willing to compel Lewis to obſerve his renunciation, and effectually to prevent him from acquiring poſſeſſion of a ſingle foot of the Spaniſh territories: but, finding that all his allies were backward to engage in a new war, and that his Engliſh ſubjects were ſtill more averſe to ſuch a meaſure than even his allies, he was obliged to chuſe the leaſt of two evils; and accordingly agreed to a treaty of partition, which was ſigned by his miniſters, the earl of Portland and Sir Joſeph Williamſon, who had been furniſhed with the neceſſary powers for that purpoſe, tranſmitted by the lord chancellor Somers, under the great ſeal of England.

This treaty imported, that, in caſe the king of Spain ſhould die without iſſue, the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, with the places depending on the Spaniſh monarchy, ſituated on the coaſt of Tuſcany, or the adjacent iſlands, and comprehended under the name Santo Stephano, Porto Hercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto-longo, Piambino, the

the marquiſate of Final, the province of Guipuſcoa, particularly the towns of Fontarabia and St. Sebaſtian, and the port Paſſage; all places on the French ſide of the Pyrenees; or the other mountains of Navarre, Alva, and Biſcay, on the other ſide of the province of Guipuſcoa, with all the ſhips, veſſels, and ſtores, ſhould devolve upon the dauphin, in conſideration of his right to the crown of Spain: that that crown, with all its other dominions and dependencies, both in Europe and the Indies, ſhould deſcend to the electoral prince of Bavaria, under the guardianſhip of his father, who ſhould act as adminiſtrator till the ſon came of age: that the dutchy of Milan ſhould be ſettled on the emperor's ſecond ſon, the archduke Charles: that this treaty ſhould be communicated to the emperor and the elector of Bavaria, by the king of England and the States-General: that if either ſhould refuſe to agree to this partition, his proportion ſhould remain in ſequeſtration, till the diſpute could be accommodated: that in caſe the electoral prince of Bavaria ſhould die before his father, then the elector and his other heirs ſhould ſucceed him in thoſe dominions: and that if the archduke ſhould reject the dutchy of Milan, it ſhould be ſequeſtered and governed by

by the prince of Vaudemont, and, after his death, by his ſon prince Charles.

This partition, it muſt be owned, would have been attended with many inconveniences, as it would have encreaſed the French monarchy to ſuch an immoderate degree, as to threaten the general liberties of Europe; but ſtill, at that time, it appeared leſs dangerous than to allow the whole Spaniſh dominions to devolve to the Bourbon family. This, however, was what Lewis had in his eye, and the treaty of partition was only a pretext to amuſe king William and the other princes of Europe, until he ſhould be able to accompliſh his purpoſe. With this view, he ordered the marquis d'Harcourt, his ambaſſador at Madrid, to exert his utmoſt endeavours in gaining the conſent of his Spaniſh majeſty. At the ſame time he cauſed ſixty thouſand of his beſt troops to advance towards Catalonia and Navarre, whilſt a great number of ſhips and gallies cruiſed along the coaſt, and entered the Spaniſh harbours.

The queen of Spain, having diſcovered the deſigns of France, employed all her intereſt in behalf of the archduke Charles, to whom ſhe was nearly related. She new-modelled the council, beſtowed the government of Milan on prince Vaudemont, appointed the

the prince of Heſſe D'Armſtadt as viceroy of Catalonia, and conveyed the king to Toledo, on pretence that the air of Madrid was prejudicial to his health, but, in reality, with a view of depriving the French miniſter of an opportunity of converſing with him.

Harcourt immediately took the alarm. He ſuſpected her intention was to perſuade her huſband, in his ſolitude, to ratify the laſt will of his father; and his ſuſpicions were all confirmed, when he heard, that the count de Harach, the Imperial miniſter, had privately repaired to Toledo. He inſtantly ſet out for the ſame place; pretending to have received a memorial from the king his maſter, with poſitive orders to deliver it into the king's own hands; but he was told, on his arrival, that the management of foreign affairs, had been committed to the care of cardinal Corduba, to whom he behoved to deliver his commiſſion.

Harcourt, diſappointed in this quarter, endeavoured to form a party in the Spaniſh councils. He repreſented to the miniſters, that Philip the fourth had no power to diſpoſe of the crown, againſt the laws of nature, and the conſtitution of the realm: that, by the order of ſucceſſion, the crown ought to deſcend to the children of his daughter, in preference to more diſtant relations: that

the dauphin, ſon to Maria Thereſa, the preſent king of Spain's ſiſter, had three ſons; and if the Spaniards would fix their choice upon the ſecond of theſe, the duke of Anjou, they might eaſily, as he was ſtill as pliable as wax, mould him to the manners and cuſtoms of their country: that, ſhould they be averſe to ſuch a propoſal, the king his maſter would rather acknowledge the electoral prince of Bavaria, than conſent to the ſucceſſion's devolving upon a ſon of the emperor: that ſhould they diſapprove of both theſe expedients, they might, if they pleaſed, chuſe a ſovereign among themſelves; in which caſe they might ſafely depend on the protection of his moſt Chriſtian Majeſty, who had no other view than to prevent the crown from deſcending to the houſe of Auſtria, which was already become too powerful by its late conqueſts in Hungary.

By theſe and the like repreſentations, he drew over to his ſide, a great number of the Spaniſh miniſters, and among others, the cardinal Portocarrero, who had great influence in the councils of that nation. While Lewis carried on theſe intrigues in Spain, he endeavoured to fortify himſelf by foreign alliances; and, with this view, he concluded a league with the king of Sweden, under pretext of preſerving and ſecuring the common

mon peace, by ſuch means as ſhould be judged moſt proper and convenient.

About the ſame time, the war, which had raged between the emperor and the Grand Signior, was at laſt terminated by the peace of Carlowitz, which was ſigned on the twenty-ſixth day of January. By this treaty, which was concluded under the mediation of king William, the emperor remained in poſſeſſion of all his conqueſts; Caminieck was reſtored to the Poles; all the Morea, with ſeveral fortreſſes in Dalmatia, were ceded to the Venetians; and the Czar of Muſcovy retained Azoph during a truce of two years: ſo that the Turks, by this pacification, loſt the beſt part of their European dominions. The cardinal primate of Poland, who had hitherto adhered to the prince of Conti, was at laſt perſuaded to acknowledge Auguſtus; and the troubles of Lithuania being compoſed, peace was eſtabliſhed throughout all Chriſtendom.

On the third day of December, the king arrived in England, where a new parliament had been choſen and prorogued, on account of his majeſty's abſence, prolonged by contrary winds, and tempeſtuous weather. Though the majority of members were firmly attached to the new eſtabliſhment, many of them had imbibed ſuch a ſtrong

jealouſy of the court during the former unpopular reigns, that they could not be perſuaded to lay it aſide, even during the preſent adminiſtration, when there was ſo little reaſon to apprehend any danger; nevertheleſs their choice of Sir Thomas Lyttleton for ſpeaker ſeemed to preſage a peaceable ſeſſion.

The parliament being met on the tenth day of December, the king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the ſafety, honour, and happineſs of the kingdom, would, in a great meaſure, depend upon the ſtrength, which they ſhould reſolve to maintain by ſea and land: that he hoped they would make ſome farther proviſion for paying the public debt, which was now ſwelled to an enormous bulk by the late long and expenſive war; and in the diſcharge of which, the intereſt as well as the honour of the nation was ſo nearly concerned: that he begged they would deviſe more effectual expedients for relieving the poor, who might be employed, with ſo much advantage, in the various manufactures which had been eſtabliſhed in the kingdom, and by their labour and induſtry, might contribute ſo conſiderably to eaſe and alleviate the burdens of the people: that he expected they would prepare ſome good bills for the advancement of trade, and the farther diſcourage-

couragement of vice and profanity: and finally that he flattered himſelf, they would proceed, in all their deliberations, with that unanimity and concord, which was ſo neceſſary for the diſpatch of buſineſs.

An act had been paſſed in the laſt parliament, reducing the ſtanding forces of England to ten thouſand men, all of them his majeſty's natural born ſubjects: but notwithſtanding this act, the king, at his departure for Holland, had left orders to his miniſtry to maintain a body of ſixteen thouſand troops; a number which he judged indiſpenſably neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, in caſe a war ſhould happen by the ſudden death of the king of Spain, which was daily expected.

The members of the preſent parliament, without conſidering the motives that induced his majeſty to take this ſtep, were ſo provoked at his preſuming to tranſgreſs an act, to which he had given the royal aſſent, that inſtead of an addreſs of thanks in return to his ſpeech, they inſtantly reſolved, that all the forces of England, in Engliſh pay, exceeding ſeven thouſand men, ſhould be forthwith diſbanded; as alſo thoſe of Ireland exceeding twelve thouſand; and that thoſe retained ſhould be, all of them, the natives of theſe kingdoms.

By this vote, the king was deprived, not only of his Dutch guards, to which he was remarkably attached, but likewiſe of the regiments of French refugees, who had always ſerved him with uncommon fidelity. He therefore tried every expedient to divert the commons from their purpoſe; but finding them unalterably fixed, he was ſo ſenſibly affected with this inſtance of groundleſs jealouſy, that he actually formed a reſolution of abandoning the government, and had even compoſed a ſpeech, which he intended to have made on the occaſion. This ſpeech is preſerved among the tracts of the lord chancellor Somers, and was conceived in the following terms.

"I came into this kingdom, at the de-
"ſire of the nation, to ſave it from ruin,
"and to preſerve your religion, your laws,
"and liberties; for which end I have been
"obliged to maintain a burdenſome and ex-
"penſive war for ſeveral years. This war,
"by the bleſſing of God, and the bravery
"of the Britiſh nation, is at laſt terminat-
"ed by a good peace; under which you
"may live happily and quietly, provi-
"ded you will take ſuch meaſures for
"your own ſecurity, as I recommended to
"you at the beginning of the ſeſſion. But
"ſince, on the contrary, you are ſo re-

"gard-

"gardleſs of my advice, and ſo negligent "of your own ſafety, that you incur the "hazard of manifeſt deſtruction, by depriv- "ing yourſelves of the only feaſible means "of defence, it would neither be juſt nor "reaſonable in me to be an eye-witneſs of "your ruin; a condition, however, to "which I ſhould probably be reduced by "continuing among you; as I am utterly "unable, of myſelf, to defend and protect "you, which yet, was my only intenti- "on in coming into the kingdom. I muſt "therefore intreat you to recommend to me "ſuch perſons, as you ſhall judge moſt pro- "per for managing the great affairs of the "nation during my abſence; aſſuring you, "that though I am at preſent obliged to "withdraw myſelf from the kingdom; I "ſhall never ceaſe to wiſh well to its inte- "reſt and proſperity. And whenever I can "learn, that my preſence will be neceſſary "for your ſafety, I ſhall be ready to return, "and will chearfully expoſe myſelf to the "ſame perils and dangers, which I have "formerly encountered, in protecting your "liberties; beſeeching, in the mean time, "the great God to bleſs your deliberations, "and to inſpire you with ſuch councils, as "may be moſt conducive to the happineſs "and welfare of the kingdom."

Happily,

Happily, however, the king was diverted from executing this fatal reſolution; and at laſt was perſuaded to aſſent to the bill for reducing the army. Accordingly on the firſt day of February he came to the houſe of peers; and inſtead of the foregoing ſpeech, he delivered himſelf in the following terms, "I am "come to paſs the bill for diſbanding the "forces, as ſoon as I knew that it was ready for my aſſent. Though the reduction "of the army to ſuch an inconſiderable "number, may, in our preſent circumſtances, be attended with the moſt fatal conſequences; and though I might juſtly "complain of the harſh treatment I have "received in being deprived of thoſe "guards, who accompanied me into this "kingdom, and have conſtantly attended me in all my fortunes: yet, as I am "convinced that nothing can be more prejudicial to our common intereſt, than to "ſuffer any jealouſy or miſunderſtanding to "ariſe between me and my people, I am "firmly determined to comply with your "requeſt.

"Nevertheleſs, after having thus aſſigned my reaſons, for paſſing this bill, I "muſt likewiſe, in diſcharge of the truſt "you have repoſed in me, declare, that, in "my opinion, the nation is left too naked

"and

" and defenceleſs. It is, therefore, your " duty to take this matter into your ſerious " conſideration, and immediately to provide " ſuch a ſtrength, as may be deemed neceſ- " ſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, and " the preſervation of that peace, which we " have ſo lately obtained."

The commons were ſo mollified by this inſtance of his majeſty's condeſcenſion, that they preſented an addreſs, in which they thanked him for this freſh mark of his royal goodneſs, and ſolemnly aſſured him, that they would, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, defend his perſon and government againſt all his enemies foreign and domeſtic.

So ſtrong was the affection, which the king had conceived for the Dutch guards, that he could not reſolve to part with them, without making another effort in their favour. Accordingly he ſent the lord Ranelagh with a meſſage to the commons acquainting them, that the neceſſary preparations were made for tranſporting the guards who came with him into England: and that he intended to ſend them away immediately, unleſs, out of conſideration to him, the houſe ſhould be diſpoſed to find an expedient for continuing them longer in the ſervice: an indulgence, which his majeſty would take very kindly. The commons, however, were altogether in-

inflexible; and the king, finding it impoſſible to overcome their obſtinacy, was at laſt obliged to yeild to the preſent neceſſity.

A jealouſy of court-meaſures, and particularly of a ſtanding army, ſeems to be inherent in the Engliſh conſtitution. This jealouſy has frequently been productive of the moſt happy and ſalutary effects; and if duly reſtrained, and never exerted but upon proper occaſions, it cannot be too much encouraged. But the misfortune is, that it has ſometimes been aroufed without any real cauſe; and has often been employed by artful and deſigning men to ſerve their own ſelfiſh and intereſted purpoſes. The preſent caſe affords an inſtance of the former kind; and it were to be wiſhed that the Engliſh hiſtory were not too replete with examples of the latter.

The commons, that they might not diſcover a total diſregard for the ſafety of the kingdom, reſolved to compenſate the ſmallneſs of the land-army, by the greatneſs of the naval force; and they accordingly voted fifteen thouſand ſeamen, and a fleet proportioned to that number. For the maintenance of theſe, and the other public ſervices, they granted the ſum of one million, four hundred and eighty-four thouſand and fifteen pounds; to be raiſed by a tax of three ſhillings

lings in the pound upon lands, perſonal eſtates, penſions, and offices.

The bad effects of diſbanding the army ſoon became viſible. The papiſts and non-jurors, encouraged by the weakneſs of the civil power, crowded up to London in great numbers, and behaved with remarkable inſolence and boldneſs. The commons, alarmed at ſuch a vaſt concourſe of diſaffected perſons, addreſſed the king for removing them from the capital, and the parts adjacent; and a proclamation for that purpoſe, was accordingly publiſhed on the ſecond day of March.

This proclamation, however, was little regarded: the prieſts ſtill continued to ſwarm about London: and the Jacobites, whoſe fictions have been commonly as abſurd as their principles are arbitrary, had even the impudence to aſſert, that the king himſelf was a Papiſt, or, at leaſt, that, whatever appearances he might aſſume, he was ſecretly attached to that religion in his heart. But that party, by their numerous lies and falſhoods, had ſo totally forfeited the character of veracity, that, if at any time they happened to ſpeak the truth, which indeed was ſeldom the caſe, little credit was given to their aſſertion.

The

The members of this parliament ſeem to have been actuated by a peeviſh and malicious ſpirit, which nothing could ſatisfy. Not contented with the great ſacrifice, which the king had made them, in diſbanding the army, they reſolved to wreak their vengeance on his miniſters and ſervants. The perſon againſt whom their reſentment was at preſent levelled, was the earl of Orford, who now acted as treaſurer to the navy, and one of the commiſſioners of the admiralty.

This nobleman, while a commoner, had acquired a greater ſhare of popularity, than any other perſon ever poſſeſſed. In the former parliament he had been knight of the ſhire for Middleſex, knight of the ſhire for the county of Cambridge, and burgeſs for the town of Portſmouth; an honour which had never been enjoyed by any other perſon ſince the firſt foundation of parliaments. In private life his conduct was irreproachable: in a public capacity he had always acted with honour and fidelity: but all theſe virtues were unable to protect him from the fury of the commons, who envied his wealth, which he had honeſtly acquired, and dreaded his power, which he laudably employed. They drew up a remonſtrance, in which they charged him with ſome trivial articles of miſmanagement in the conduct of the navy; and the earl, conſcious

conſcious that his innocence could not ſcreen him from the violence of their reſentment, thought proper to conſult his ſafety by reſigning his employments.

On the fourth day of May, the king cloſed the ſeſſion with a ſpeech, in which he recapitulated the principal objects, which he had recommended to their conſideration at their firſt meeting; obſerved, that if any thing was left unfiniſhed, which ſhould be deemed neceſſary for the ſafety of the kingdom, it might be accompliſhed in the following ſeſſion; and expreſſed his hopes that, in the mean time, no danger or inconvenience would ariſe from their negligence or overſight. The parliament was then prorogued to the firſt day of June.

That licentious and profane ſpirit, which had firſt taken place under Charles the ſecond, ſtill continued to prevail with unabated vigour. It had corrupted all ranks and orders of men; and had particularly infected the theatre, which was now degenerated to ſuch a degree, that few perſons of virtue or principle choſe to frequent it. This dangerous and ſpreading corruption, excited the fears of the religious part of the nation; and their apprehenſions were greatly encreaſed by a book publiſhed by Jeremy Collier, in which the author, inſtead of inveighing againſt the indecent ſcenes, which were repreſented on

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the ſtage, and which can never be excuſed, declaimed loudly againſt plays in general, which may be eaſily defended.

The theatre might be eſtabliſhed upon ſuch a foundation, and ſubjected to ſuch ſtrict regulations, as to be rendered one of the moſt powerful means of reforming the lives, and poliſhing the manners of a people: but, conducted as it then was, (and it were to be wiſhed that the obſervation was not equally applicable to the preſent times) it was become a perfect ſchool of vice and immorality. The youth, inflamed by the wanton pictures, which were there exhibited, ruſhed headlong and precipitate into all manner of wickedneſs, and boldly bid defiance to every law, human and divine. In order to remedy this growing evil, the king renewed an order, which he had formerly publiſhed, prohibiting the repreſentation of any profane or indecent ſcenes on the ſtage; commanding the maſter of the revels to licence no plays, but ſuch as were conſiſtent with morality and religion; and ſtrictly enjoining him to inform the lord chamberlain if the players preſumed to contravene this order.* On the laſt day of May, the king

* About the latter end of March, the earl of Warwick and lord Mohun were tried by their peers in Weſt-

king appointed a regency to govern in his abſence; * and next morning ſet out for Margate, where he embarked for Holland.

The Scottiſh company, notwithſtanding the many diſcouragements and repulſes, which they had ſuffered, were ſtill determined to carry their ſcheme into execution; and accordingly, in the beginning of this year, they effected a ſettlement on the iſthmus of Darien, to which they gave the name of Ca-

 ledonia,

Weſtminſter-hall, for the murder of captain Richard Coote, who had been killed in a midnight combat of three on each ſide. Warwick was found guilty of manſlaughter, and Mohun was acquitted.

On the fourteenth of May, the earl of Jerſey, who had returned from his embaſſy to France, was appointed ſecretary of ſtate in the room of the duke of Shrewſbury. This nobleman had long enjoyed the ſecretary's place; but was now rendered incapable, by a fall from his horſe, to undergo the fatigue of ſuch a laborious office. He therefore accepted the poſt of lord-chamberlain; and afterwards travelled to France and Italy for the benefit of the air, and married an Italian lady named Adelaida Palleotica, of Bologna. The earl of Mancheſter was ſent ambaſſador extraordinary to France: the earl of Pembroke was declared lord-preſident of the council: and the lord viſcount Lonſdale, keeper of the privy-ſeal.

* The regency was compoſed of the lord-chancellor, the lord-preſident, the lord privy-ſeal, the lord ſteward of the houſhold, the earl of Bridgewater, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty, the earl of Marlborough, the earl of Jerſey, and Mr. Montague.

ledonia, and began to erect a town under the appellation of New Edinburgh.

This enterprize alarmed the apprehensions of the Spaniards, who laid claim to the same territory, which lay in the neighbourhood of Porto-Bello and Panama on the one side, and of Carthagena on the other. The marquis de Canales, the Spanish ambassador at London, remonstrated against it in a printed memorial, which he presented to king William; in which he complained of the attempt, as a manifest violation of the treaties subsisting between the crowns of Spain and Great-Britain. The French king too exclaimed against the invasion, and offered to supply the court of Madrid with a fleet to dislodge the interlopers. Even the English colonies were jealous of the Scottish settlement. They apprehended, that their planters would be allured into it, by the double prospect of finding gold, and plundering the Spaniards: that, as it was a free port, the buccaneers would chuse it for their chief residence: that the English plantations would be deserted: that Darien would become another Algiers: and that the settlement would occasion a rupture with Spain, in consequence of which the English effects in that kingdom would be confiscated.

The

The king, influenced by these concurring motives, resolved to discourage the new settlement; and accordingly, he sent orders to the governors of all the English colonies, forbidding them, under the severest penalties, to hold any correspondence with the Scottish planters, or assist them in any shape, with arms, ammunition, or provision. The first adventurers being thus deprived of all means of assistance, were obliged to relinquish the coast. A second recruit of men and provisions were sent thither from Scotland; but one of their ships laden with provisions being burned by accident, they were likewise forced to retire from the place. Another reinforcement afterwards arrived: and being better provided than either of the former, they might have maintained their ground; but they soon fell into such violent factions as rendered them incapable of forming any rational scheme for their own safety; and the Spaniards advancing against them, they were glad to accept of a capitulation, and finally to abandon the enterprize.

Thus vanished all the golden dreams of the Scots, who had engaged in this project with incredible ardour, and even embarked a greater sum of money, than they had ever advanced upon any other occasion. In proportion as their hopes of gain had been

raiſed, was now their indignation upon ſeeing their diſappointment. The Jacobites laid hold of this opportunity; and carefully endeavoured to inflame the people againſt the conduct of the king and his miniſtry; and in theſe endeavours they were but too ſucceſsful: the nation was certainly inſpired with the higheſt degree of fury and reſentment; though the general ferment was happily prevented from breaking out into an open rebellion.

The condition, indeed, of the numerous ſubſcribers, was truly wretched and deplorable. Many of them had ſuſtained an irreparable loſs; and ſome of them were even reduced to abſolute poverty. Their diſappointment, however, muſt be originally aſcribed to the preſumption of their own commiſſioner, the marquis of Tweedale, who had exceeded his orders, in paſſing the act in their favour; and it muſt likewiſe be acknowledged, to have been, in ſome meaſure, owing to the jealouſy of the Engliſh planters, who began to apprehend that the Scottiſh ſettlement might, in the end, become dangerous to their colonies. This jealouſy and rivalſhip muſt neceſſarily take place upon many occaſions, where different independent kingdoms are ſubject to the ſame ſovereign; but, in the preſent caſe, this inconvenience

venience is happily removed by the union of the Engliſh and Scottiſh nations; an union which has for ever rendered their intereſts not only conſiſtent, but even inſeparable; and it is to be hoped, that they will always conſider the matter in this light, notwithſtanding the villainous attempts of thoſe public incendiaries, who, in order to promote their own ſelfiſh and ambitious views, endeavour to excite an animoſity between them, and to involve the kingdom in all the horrors of a civil war; and who would, with as much indifference, and as little compunction, tear out the bowels of their own parents, were they ſure to find a treaſure within them.

Mean while king William enjoyed his favourite diverſions of ſhooting and hunting at Loo, where he was viſited by the duke of Zell, with whom he had long maintained an intimate correſpondence. During his reſidence in this place, the earl of Portland, the grand penſionary of Holland, and the French ambaſſador, count Tallard, had frequent conferences upon the ſubject of the Spaniſh ſucceſſion; but no alteration was at this time made in the late treaty of partition. His majeſty, having ſettled with the States-general the number and ſtrength of the Dutch fleet and army, embarked for

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England on the sixteenth of October, and next day arrived at Margate, from whence he immediately repaired to Kensington.

The parliament meeting about the middle of November, the king, in his speech to both houses, observed, that their was an absolute necessity for making some farther provision for the safety of the kingdom, by sea and land, and for repairing the ships and fortifications: that the funds settled since the commencement of the war had proved very deficient, the nation was loaded with a heavy debt, and fresh supplies would be requisite for making good the one and discharging the other: that he was sorry he was obliged to ask such frequent aids of his people; but he had the satisfaction to think, and he believed that they were, all of them, satisfied, that no part of what was demanded was for his own private use or emolument, but that the whole of it was faithfully applied to the particular purposes, for which it was granted: that he hoped the nation was already convinced of the good effects of the peace by the manifest increase of trade, which he should exert his utmost endeavours to promote and encourage: that some good bills ought to be prepared for preventing unlawful and clandestine trading, and for employing the poor, who were now become a bur-

a burden to the nation: that he was fully assured of the love and affection of his people, which he should endeavour to preserve by every possible expedient: that, with this view, he would maintain their rights and liberties inviolable; support the established religion; dispense justice with clemency and impartiality; countenance virtue, and discourage vice; and chearfully encounter every difficulty and danger, in promoting the welfare and prosperity of the nation. He then concluded in these words: "since, therefore, "our aims are only for the general good, "let us act with confidence in one another; "which will not fail, with God's blessing, to "make me a happy king, and you a great "and flourishing people."

The commons still retained the same peevish and discontented spirit, which they had so strongly displayed in the former session. They still seemed determined to mortify the king by thwarting his humour in every particular. They affected to find fault with the generous and cordial expression: "let us act with confidence in one ano-"ther." Instead of an address of thanks, they presented a remonstrance, importing, that they were fully convinced of the absolute necessity of maintaining an entire confidence between his majesty and his parlia-

parliament: that they considered it as their greatest misfortune, that, after the repeated proofs they had given of their zealous attachment to his person and government, they should be so unhappy as to incur the suspicion of being wanting in their duty to him and his people: and that they hoped he would shew marks of his high displeasure towards all those, who had presumed to misrepresent their resolutions or proceedings. The king, in his answer, assured them, that no one had dared to misrepresent their proceedings; and that, if any should attempt to impose upon him by such calumnies, he would consider and treat them as his most inveterate enemies.

Though the commons were, almost all of them, infected with a spirit of peevishness and discontent, the majority were firmly attached to the present government, and even satisfied with the present ministry. A few of them, however, were not only displeased with the present administration, but were likewise enemies to the Revolution. Actuated by these dangerous principles, they industriously sought for every occasion of throwing an odium on the king and his ministers; and they imagined the following affair had furnished them with an excellent opportunity for this purpose.

During

During the war, the province of New-York, and moſt of the other Engliſh colonies, had been grealy infeſted with pyrates; who received but too much encouragement from many of the inhabitants of theſe ſettlements. The earl of Bellamont, who had lately been appointed governour of New-York, applied to his majeſty, and repreſented the neceſſity of ſuppreſſing theſe public robbers. The king laid the matter before the admiralty; but, the whole fleet being employed in other ſervices, no ſhip could be poſſibly ſpared for that purpoſe. Bellamont, diſappointed in this quarter, propoſed, that, if his majeſty would give his authority, a ſhip might be fitted out by private adventurers, which would be fully ſufficient for effecting the purpoſe,

The king reliſhed the propoſal, and immediately granted his letters-patent, reſerving to himſelf a tenth of the captures, as a proof that he was a partner in this uſeful undertaking. The ſcheme was immediately carried into execution. The lord-chancellor, the duke of Shrewſbury, the earls of Romney, Orford, and Bellamont, Sir Edward Harriſon, and colonel Levingſton of New-York, engaged in the project. Six thouſand pounds were in a few days ſubſcribed; and a ſhip of ſufficient force being equipped, the command

command of her was bestowed upon one captain Kidd of New-York, who, from his knowledge of these seas, and his approved bravery, was deemed the most proper person for conducting the enterprize.

Kidd, being furnished with every thing necessary, set out on the intended expedition: but, instead of apprehending the pirates, he engaged in the same scandalous profession; and afterwards arrived on the coast of New York, where he and his men were seized by lord Bellamont. His lordship transmitted an account of the matter to the secretary of state, desiring he would send for the prisoners to England, as there was no law in that colony for punishing piracy with death, and the people, in general, favoured the practice. The Rochester ship of war was accordingly dispatched for that purpose; but, after having been tossed for some time with tempestuous weather, she was driven back to Plymouth in a very shattered condition: and this incident furnished the Jacobites with a pretext for representing the ministry as the authors and encouragers of a pyratical expedition, which they wanted to screen from the cognizance of the public.

They had even the assurance to move in the house, that the letters patent, granted to the earl of Bellamont, and others, of

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pyrates goods, were dishonourable to the king, against the law of nations, contrary to the laws and statutes of the land, invasive of property, and destructive of trade and commerce: but the principles, by which they were influenced, were so notorious; the end, at which they aimed, was so well known; and the assertion, which they advanced, was so palpably absurd; that the motion was rejected with the utmost indignation.

Baffled in this attempt, they directed their next battery against doctor Burnet, bishop of Salisbury, who, by the great share, which he had in the Revolution, and his spirited defence of the principles of liberty, had incurred the hatred of the whole party. They now endeavoured to remove him from his office of preceptor to the duke of Glocester; for which, they alledged, he was utterly disqualified, as well on account of his being a Scotchman, as by his having written the pastoral letter, which had been burned by order of the parliament, and in which he had asserted, that William had a right to the crown from conquest. A motion was accordingly made for that purpose; but it instantly met with the fate of the former.

Mean while a supply was granted for the support of the fleet, and army; and a fund

was eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe. Thoſe, who had contributed ſo zealouſly towards the reduction of the troops, thought it needleſs to have ſo great a naval force: and accordingly it was reſolved, that ſeven thouſand ſeamen were ſufficient for the ſervice of the inſuing year. The motion was made by the Tories; and was readily approved by the Whigs, becauſe the management of the navy was now entruſted to other commiſſioners: the earl of Orford and his friends were diſmiſſed from the board, and their places ſupplied by ſome of the other faction.

The next object, which engaged the attention of the commons, was an enquiry into the forfeited eſtates in Ireland; which the king had diſtributed, partly among thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the reduction of that kingdom, partly among ſuch, as deſerved well of the nation in other reſpects. The commiſſioners appointed to examine this affair, were Anneſley, Trenchard, Hamilton, Langford, the earl of Drogheda, Sir Francis Brewſter, and Sir Richard Leving.

The firſt four were actuated by all the violence of faction, and proceeded in their inquiry with ſuch rigour and ſeverity, as plainly diſcovered the malicious ſpirit, by which they were poſſeſſed. They greedily laid hold of

of every particular, which might tend to inflame and exaggerate the account; and artfully suppreſſed every fact and circumſtance, which might ſerve to exculpate or juſtify his majeſty.

The other three were influenced by more generous principles, and refuſed to concur with their colleagues in the report, * which

* The report conſiſted of ninety articles, the principal of which were as follow:

The number of acres in the ſeveral counties, belonging to the attainted perſons, are — —	Acres. 1,060,792
Theſe, eſtimated at 211,623 l. a year, at ſix years purchaſe for a life, and at thirteen years for the inheritance, make	£. 2,685,130
Out of theſe lands, the eſtates reſtored to the old proprietors by the articles of Limerick and Galway, are valued at 724,923 l. and thoſe reſtored by royal favour, at 260,863 l. After theſe and ſeveral other deductions, the groſs value of ſuch of the forfeited eſtates, as have not been reſtored, amounts to the ſum of — —	1,699,348

The number of grants ſince the battle of the Boyne, under the great ſeal of England, were computed at ſeventy-ſix, the principal of which were:

	Acres.
To the lord Romney, three grants of —	49,517
To the earl of Albemarle, two grants of	108,633

To

was transmitted; and in which it was asserted, that no less than a million and a half might be raised by the sale of the forfeitures. They even sent over a memorial to the parliament, explaining the reasons of their dissent; but no regard was paid to their representation. The report of the others was readily approved; and a bill was introduced for applying these estates to the use of the public. A vote

	Acres.
To William Bentinck (lord Woodstock)	135,820
To the earl of Athlone, confirmed by the Irish parliament — —	26,480
To the earl of Galway — —	36,148
To the earl of Rochford, two grants of	30,512
To the lord Coningsby — —	5,966
To colonel Gustavus Hamilton, for his services in forcing the Shannon, and storming Athlone at the head of the English grenadiers — —	5,582
To Sir Thomas Pendergrass, for discovering the assassination-plot —	7,082

Several animadversions were made upon the report, particularly in a tract, published about this time, and entitled *Jus Regium*, or the king's right to dispose of forfeitures. The author of this pamphlet proves, that the commissioners had been guilty of the grossest errors, or the greatest impositions, as well in computing the number of acres, as in ascertaining the value of the estates; and that all the forfeitures in Ireland, after making the necessary deductions, would not amount to above five hundred thousand pounds.

A vote was even paſſed by the commons, importing, that they would not receive any petition from any perſon whatſoever, concerning the grants: that the four commiſſioners, who had ſigned the report, had acquitted themſelves with underſtanding and integrity, and deſerved to be rewarded for their faithful ſervices: and that Sir Richard Leving, as author of groundleſs and ſcandalous aſperſions, caſt upon his four colleagues, ſhould be committed to the Tower. They likewiſe preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, in which they affirmed, that the procuring and paſſing theſe grants had involved the nation in great debts, burthened the people with heavy taxes, and highly reflected on the king's honour; and that the officers and inſtruments, concerned in the ſame, had failed in the performance of their truſt and duty.

The king replied, that he was not only led by inclination, but thought himſelf bound in juſtice, to reward thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the reduction of Ireland: that he likewiſe imagined, that theſe rewards could not ſo properly be beſtowed out of any funds, as out of the eſtates forfeited to him by the rebellion in that kingdom: and that, as the long war had conſiderably encreaſed the national debt, their taking juſt and effectual ways for leſſening

that debt, and ſupporting public credit, would, in his opinion, be the beſt means of contributing to the honour, intereſt, and ſafety of the kingdom.

The commons were enraged at this anſwer; and inſtantly reſolved, that whoever adviſed it, had uſed his endeavours to create a miſunderſtanding and jealouſy between the king and his people. They framed, finiſhed, and paſſed a bill of reſumption. They ordered an account of the whole tranſaction to be printed and publiſhed for their vindication; and they reſolved, that the procuring or paſſing exhorbitant grants by any member now of the privy-council, or by any other, who had been a privy-counſellor, in this, or any former reign, to his own uſe and benefit, was a high crime and miſdemeanour.

In this bill of reſumption, little regard was ſhown to juſtice or even to common decency: but among all the inſtances of ſeverity, with which it was attended, the caſe of the earl of Athlone, was the moſt remarkable. The commons of the parliament, which was ſitting at the time of completing the reduction of Ireland, were ſo ſenſible of the ſervices, which this nobleman had performed, in accompliſhing that important enterprize, that they had unanimouſly addreſſed the king for beſtowing upon him a pro-

proportionable reward; the king had complied with their requeſt: and the Iriſh parliament were ſo fully convinced of his great merit, that they confirmed the grant with the utmoſt alacrity. The earl had ſold the grant to thoſe, who imagined they purchaſed it under an unqueſtionable title: no regard, however, was paid to thoſe conſiderations: he and his purchaſers were deprived of their property, and involved in one common and undiſtinguiſhed ruin.

The commons were apprehenſive, that the bill of reſumption would meet with ſtrong oppoſition in the houſe of peers; and they therefore tacked it to the money-bill: ſo that the one could not be rejected, without defeating the other. The lords propoſed ſome alterations: the commons refuſed to give their conſent: a conference was deſired: the peers inſiſted on their amendments: the commons perſevered in their refuſal: and a violent altercation was like to enſue; when the commons, in order to intimidate their antagoniſts, proceeded to embrace the moſt deſperate reſolutions. They ordered a liſt of the privy-council to be laid before them: they cauſed their houſe to be cleared of ſtrangers, and the doors to be ſhut: they then began to take into conſideration the report of the Iriſh forfeitures, with the liſt

liſt of the privy-counſellors; and imagining that the lord chancellor Somers, though himſelf a ſteady Whig, and at preſent confined to his houſe with ſickneſs, was the ſecret author of all the oppoſition, they moved, that an addreſs ſhould be made to his majeſty for removing this nobleman from his preſence and councils for ever: but the motion was rejected by a great majority.

The king was extremely chagrined at this bill, which he conſidered as an invaſion of his prerogative, an inſult on his perſon, and an injury to his friends and ſervants; and he at firſt ſeemed determined to run all hazards, rather than to paſs ſuch an iniquitous law: but he was diverted from his reſolution by the remonſtrances of thoſe, in whom he chiefly confided; and was at laſt perſuaded to give it his aſſent. Nevertheleſs he could not conceal his reſentment. He became peeviſh, moroſe, and diſcontented; and his enemies laid hold of this circumſtance to paint his character in the moſt odious colours. They inſinuated, that his affections were entirely confined to a few foreign favourites; that he hated the company and even the ſight of Engliſhmen; and that he was no ſooner freed from the burden of buſineſs, than he fled every year to his palace on the Continent, where

where he enjoyed his pleaſures in a lazy and inactive retirement.

The commons were not ſatisfied with the victory they had gained, but proceeded ſtill further in their furious career. They reſolved to addreſs his majeſty, that no perſon, who was not a native of his dominions, except his royal highneſs prince George of Denmark, ſhould be admitted into his councils in England or Ireland. This reſolution was levelled againſt the earls of Portland, Albemarle, and Galway; but, before the addreſs could be preſented, the king came to the houſe of peers, and having paſſed ſuch bills as were ready for his aſſent, the parliament was prorogued to the twenty-third day of May.

The principles of the Whigs are ſo favourable to civil liberty, that they muſt ever be approved by every perſon, who wiſhes well to the natural rights of mankind. It muſt be acknowledged, however, that that party have frequently been hurried, by the violence of their paſſions, into ſuch practices and proceedings, as they themſelves, in their cooler moments, would be aſhamed to own. Zealots and enthuſiaſts are to be found in all parties; and they are really a diſgrace to any party: and to ſuch extravagant and unwarrantable lengths are

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men ſometimes carried by a ſpirit of oppoſition, that the moderate and the violent of the ſame party, differ more eſſentially from each other, than the moderate of the moſt oppoſite and different parties. The Whigs and the Tories are commonly ſuppoſed to be actuated by different principles, and to aim at different ends: but it may be ſafely affirmed, that a moderate Whig and a violent Whig, though comprehended under the ſame character, and a moderate Tory and a violent Tory, though included under the ſame denomination, are more different in their conduct and practice, than a moderate Whig and a moderate Tory, though diſtinguiſhed by different appellations. The preſent caſe furniſhes a memorable inſtance of this kind; and it were to be wiſhed that latter times did not afford ſome ſtriking examples of a ſimilar nature.

The Papiſts have in all ages been ſo remarkable for their zeal and activity in propagating their religious tenets, which are always the forerunners of civil ſlavery, that it is no wonder if every free ſtate has been particularly jealous of that party. The commons, ſenſible of the danger ariſing from the deſigns of theſe religioniſts, paſſed, in the courſe of this ſeſſion, a very ſevere law againſt them. The act imported, that all

known or ſuſpected Papiſts, who ſhould ſucceed to any eſtate before the age of eighteen, ſhould, on their arriving at that age, be obliged to take the oaths of allegiance, and ſupremacy, and the teſt: that, till ſuch times as they performed this condition, the eſtate ſhould devolve to the next Proteſtant heir; but ſhould revert to the original poſſeſſors, upon their complying with the law: that all Popiſh prieſts ſhould be baniſhed the kingdom, and condemned to perpetual impriſonment, if ever they ſhould return again: and that the reward of an hundred pounds ſhould be granted to every one, who ſhould diſcover any ſuch prieſts, ſo as to bring them to a legal conviction.

This bill was violently oppoſed in the houſe of lords, many of whom were ſecretly attached to that ſuperſtition; but, notwithſtanding this impediment, it was finally carried by a great majority, and at laſt received the royal ſanction. It was ſtrongly ſupported by many perſons, who were profeſſed patrons of liberty of conſcience. They imagined, that, if a government found any religious ſect incompatible with its quiet and ſafety, it might, and even ought, to rid itſelf of ſuch a ſect in as gentle a manner as poſſible. And, indeed, it muſt be owned

owned, that the law, though ſeemingly ſevere, was as mild as could be expected. It touched no man who was at preſent poſſeſſed of an eſtate: it only incapacitated his next heir, if he continued a Papiſt, to ſucceed to that eſtate: the probable conſequence of which would be, that the danger ariſing from this quarter, would induce thoſe Catholics who were men of conſcience, to diſpoſe of their eſtates; ſo that, in the courſe of a few years, the kingdom might be entirely cleared of Papiſts. But this act, however excellent in itſelf, was deficient in ſome neceſſary clauſes to inforce execution: nevertheleſs, a foundation was laid, which, upon any future emergency, and upon any great provocation given by the profeſſors of that religion, may diſpoſe a parliament to perfect the act, and to render it fully effectual.

In the courſe of this ſeſſion, a bill was introduced into the houſe of commons, for continuing the old Eaſt-India company till the expiration of their charter. A ſtate of their caſe was at the ſame time publiſhed, in which the equity of their claim was attempted to be proved, and the injuries they had ſuffered were greatly exaggerated. An anſwer was given to this remonſtrance, by the members of the new company; who endeavoured to expoſe the corrupt practices of

their

their adverſaries. But, notwithſtanding this oppoſition, the bill was actually carried through both houſes, and at laſt received the royal aſſent: ſo that there were now two rival companies of merchants trading to the Eaſt-Indies.

The king had of late been ſo much chagrined by the violence of the Whigs, that it is no wonder if he liſtened with the greater willingneſs to the ſuggeſtions of the Tories. They aſſured him, that, if he would gratify them with the diſmiſſion of a few of his Whig miniſters, and the admiſſion of ſome of their own party, they would ſerve him with greater zeal than the Whigs; whom they repreſented as a peeviſh, ſullen, and moroſe ſect, who could never live contented under any government. The better to pave the way for their own elevation, they endeavoured to remove lord Somers from the office of Chancellor; and with this view inſinuated, that that nobleman, who was univerſally conſidered as the principal leader of the Whigs, was, at the ſame time, the real author of all the oppoſition, which the parliament had lately given to his majeſty.

The caſe of lord Somers was extremely ſingular. The Whigs had accuſed him as the ſecret ſource of that oppoſition, which the commons had received from the miniſtry:

the Tories charged him as the original cauſe of that oppoſition, which the miniſtry had received from the commons. Both theſe aſſertions could not poſſibly be true: yet, ſuch is the force of bigotry and prejudice, and ſo incapable are zealots of diſtinguiſhing the moſt palpable and glaring contradictions, that they were, both of them, believed by the enthuſiaſts of either party.

But though the Tories were extremely deſirous of removing the chancellor, they were ſomewhat at a loſs in what manner to accompliſh their aim; nor would they ever have been able to effect their purpoſe, had they not been favoured by the inclinations of his majeſty, which now leaned viſibly towards that party. Somers's character, as a man, was altogether unexceptionable: his conduct, as a judge, was equally unimpeachable: the king himſelf was fully convinced of his merit; and believed him to be innocent of the crimes which were laid to his charge: nevertheleſs, as he was reſolved to make trial of a Tory miniſtry, who inſiſted on the diſmiſſion of this nobleman, he found himſelf obliged to comply with their humour. Accordingly he ſent for the chancellor, and repreſented the neceſſity of his parting with the ſeals, not for any fault he had committed, but merely for the ſake of public peace and tranquillity.

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Somers was no ſtranger to the king's ſentiments; and as he apprehended the dangerous conſequences of the meaſures, which he was going to embrace, he took the freedom to ſpeak his mind on the ſubject. He ſaid, that, as he had owed the ſeals to his majeſty's favour, he was ready to reſign them in compliance with his order: that, nevertheleſs, as he knew his enemies would abuſe the power, which they were endeavouring to acquire, he was determined to keep them, with his gracious permiſſion: that he was fully apprized of the deſigns of his enemies, who aimed at nothing but his removal from court; but that, conſcious as he was of his own innocence, and convinced of his majeſty's regard to juſtice, he heartily deſpiſed their threats, and ſet their malice at defiance: and that he doubted not, but if his majeſty would be as firm to his friends as they would be to him, they ſhould be abundantly able to carry whatever points were neceſſary for the public welfare in a new parliament.

The king, however, had been ſo harraſſed by the violence of the Whigs, that he was reſolved to have recourſe to the other party; and only ſaid that there was an abſolute neceſſity for yielding to the times. The chancellor replied, that his voluntary reſignation of the ſeals might be ſuppoſed to betray a

conſciouſneſs of guilt, or a fear of danger; and he ſcorned to take any ſtep which could naturally bear that odious conſtruction; but that, nevertheleſs, whenever his majeſty ſent a peremptory order demanding the ſeals, he ſhould be ready to reſign them with the moſt perfect ſubmiſſion. An order was accordingly ſent by the lord Jerſey, to whom the ſeals were delivered by Somers, on the ſixteenth of April.

The ſucceſs of the Tories had ſo much exceeded their own expectations, that they had not yet bethought themſelves of any perſon, to whom the ſeals could be ſafely committed. They were ſucceſſively offered to the lord chief juſtice Holt, and Trevor the attorney-general, who declined accepting ſuch a precarious office. Mean while the king granted a temporary commiſſion, to three judges to ſit in the court of chancery: and at length beſtowed the ſeals, with the title of lord keeper, on Sir Nathan Wright, one of the ſergeants at law; a man but indifferently qualified for the high office, to which he was now advanced.

William imagined, that, by the treaty of partition, he had, in ſome meaſure, ſecured the tranquillity of Europe, in caſe the king of Spain ſhould die without children: but the treaty being rendered ineffectual, by

by the death of the electoral prince of Bavaria, who had died in the beginning of the former year, a new treaty of the ſame nature was concluded between England, France, and Holland.

This ſecond convention imported, that the treaty of Ryſwick ſhould be faithfully obſerved: that, in caſe his Catholic majeſty ſhould die without iſſue, the dauphin ſhould poſſeſs, for himſelf and his heirs, the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, the iſlands of St. Stephons, Porto Hercole, Orbitello, Telamone, Porto Longone, Piombino, the city and Marquiſate of Final, the province of Guipuſcoa, together with the dutchies of Lorrain and Barre; in exchange of which the duke of Lorrain ſhould receive the dutchy of Milan; but that the county of Biche ſhould remain in ſovereignty to the prince of Vaudemont: that the archduke Charles ſhould inherit the kingdom of Spain and all its dependencies in and out of Europe; but in caſe of his dying without iſſue, it ſhould devolve to ſome other child of the emperor, excepting him, who was to ſucceed as emperor or king of the Romans: that this monarchy ſhould never deſcend to a king of France or dauphin; and that three months ſhould be allowed to the emperor to conſider whether or not he would accede to the treaty, which was now concluded. The fate

of this treaty; the reception it met with from the princes and states, to whom it was offered; the perfidious use, that was made of it by France, to alienate the Spaniards from their allies, and obtain a will in favour of the duke of Anjou: these, and many other particulars of a similar nature, will come to be explained in the course of this history.

On the seventh day of July, the king embarked for Holland, after having appointed a regency * to manage the government in his absence.

On the twenty-ninth day of the same month, the young duke of Glocester, the only remaining child of seventeen whom the princess Anne had borne, died of a malignant fever, in the eleventh year of his age. The fever was in a great measure owing to the fatigue he had undergone on his birth-day, which happened five days before. During his sickness his mother attended him with an affection truly maternal, and bore his death with surprising resignation.

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* The regency consisted of the archbishop of Canterbury; Sir Nathan Wright, lord-keeper; the earl of Pembroke, lord president of the council; viscount Lonsdale, lord privy-seal; the duke of Devonshire, lord-steward; the earl of Bridgewater, first commissioner of the admiralty; the earl of Marlborough, governour of his highness the duke of Glocester; and the earl of Tankerville, first commissioner of the treasury.

Biſhop Burnet had acted as his preceptor, and, under the care of that able and learned prelate, he had acquired a degree of knowledge, rarely attained by thoſe of his years. He had made conſiderable progreſs in the ſtudy of hiſtory, geography, politics, religion; and diſcovered an equal deſire and capacity for farther improvement. Theſe endowments, joined to the natural ſweetneſs of his temper, had endeared him to the affections of the whole nation; and rendered him the ſubject of general lamentation.

The Jacobites only rejoiced at his deceaſe; and conſidered it as an event, which had removed the chief bar to the intereſt of the prince of Wales: but the Proteſtants turned their eyes upon the princeſs Sophia, electreſs dowager of Hanover, and grand-daughter of James the firſt. It was with a view to concert the eſtabliſhment of her ſucceſſion, that the court of Brunſwick now returned the viſit which the king had lately made them.

The preſent ſtate of affairs in England, however, afforded but an uncomfortable proſpect. The people in general were contracting a diſlike to the perſon and government of the king; and he, on his part, ſeemed to grow weary of them and their factious meaſures. The act for triennial par-

parliaments kept the whole nation in a perpetual ferment for the next elections. Pride, luxury, ambition, and venality, had corrupted the morals of the people, and, in a great meaſure, deſtroyed all public and private virtue. Few appeared to underſtand the real intereſt of their country; and fewer ſtill to purſue it with prudence and perſeverance. The commons, however much advanced in power, were conſiderably ſunk in credit: faction, violence, and party-ſpirit, were but too conſpicuous in all their proceedings. The chief ballance lay in the houſe of lords: but theſe were poſſeſſed of no natural ſtrength ſufficient to reſiſt the commons.

King William's active and capacious mind was always employed in conſulting the general intereſts of Europe; and he now found means to promote this important object in a very eſſential manner. The kings of Denmark and Poland, with the elector of Brandenburg, had formed a league to cruſh the young king of Sweden, by attacking his dominions on different ſides. The Poles actually invaded Livonia, and undertook the ſiege of Riga; while the king of Denmark entered Holſtein, the duke of which was connected with Sweden, and inveſted the town of Tonninghen.

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The Swediſh miniſter, in England, demanded that aſſiſtance of William, which had been ſtipulated in a late renewal of the ancient treaty between England and Sweden. The Hollanders were ſolicited to the ſame purpoſe. Accordingly a fleet of thirty ſail, Engliſh and Dutch, was ſent to the Baltick, under the command of Sir George Rooke, who joined the Swediſh ſquadron, and bombarded Copenhagen, to the harbour of which the Daniſh fleet had retired. A body of Swediſh troops, which happened to be at Bremen, croſſed the Elbe, and advanced to the aſſiſtance of the duke of Holſtein. The Danes were compelled to relinquiſh the ſiege of Tonninghen; and the Saxons, who had entered the territories of the duke of Brunſwick, were obliged to retreat with damage and diſgrace.

The young king of Sweden made a deſcent upon Zealand; and executed the enterprize with equal ſpirit and ſucceſs. Charles was the firſt man that landed; and he here diſplayed ſuch marks of courage and intrepidity, as filled his enemies with the utmoſt conſternation. This was greatly encreaſed by a deſign, which he formed, of beſieging Copenhagen; and which ſtruck the Danes with ſuch a panic, that they were glad

to avoid the impending danger by an immediate peace. King William offered his mediation: a treaty was ſet on foot at Travendal, and was after concluded between Denmark, Sweden, and Holſtein. As William was not guarantee of the treaties between Sweden and Poland, he was not obliged to include the ſovereign of that latter kingdom. In conſequence of this agreement, the Danes evacuated Holſtein, and the ſquadrons of the maritime powers returned from the Baltick.

When the new partition-treaty was imparted, by the miniſters of the contracting powers, to the other princes of Europe, it generally met with a very unfavourable reception. Moſt of them ſeemed cautious and dilatory in their meaſures, and returned only vague and evaſive anſwers. Saxony and the northern crowns were ſtill embroiled with their own quarrels, which the peace of Travendal had not entirely adjuſted. The princes of Germany were extremely backward; and were reſtrained, by motives of fear or of intereſt, from oppoſing the pretenſions of the Auſtrian family. The elector of Brandenburg, in particular, had ſet his heart upon the title of king, which he hoped to obtain from the favour and authority of the em-

emperor. The Italian ſtates diſapproved of a treaty, which would put France in poſſeſſion of Naples, and other diſtricts of their country. The duke of Savoy affected a myſterious neutrality, in hopes of being able to barter his conſent for ſome valuable conſideration. The Swiſs cantons declined acceding as guarantees.

The emperor expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, that any diſpoſition ſhould be made of the Spaniſh monarchy, without the conſent of the preſent poſſeſſor, and the ſtates of the kingdom. He ſaid, that neither juſtice nor decorum could warrant the contracting powers to compel him, who was rightful heir, to accept a part of his inheritance, within three months, on pain of forfeiting even that ſhare to a third perſon not yet named; and that, for his own part, he could take no final reſolution, until he ſhould know the ſentiments of his Catholic majeſty, on an affair, in which their mutual intereſt was ſo nearly concerned.

All Europe was amazed at the oppoſition made by Leopold; well knowing, that he was totally incapable of ſupporting his pretenſions by force of arms. Some imagined he placed his chief confidence in the aſſiſtance of the empire; while others thought, he was ſo weak as to rely on a re-

a ridiculous ſtory, which the ſuperſtition of his predeceſſors, or the adulation of their partizans, had termed the miracle of the Auſtrian family. But the real motive of his conduct was, that he had engaged in a negociation with the king of Spain, who actually ſigned a will in favour of his ſecond ſon, Charles: yet he took no ſteps to aſſert his claim, either by ſending the archduke with a ſufficient army into Spain, or by detaching troops into Italy.

The Spaniards were incenſed at the inſolence of the three foreign powers, who pretended to parcel out their dominions. Their pride was alarmed at the proſpect of their monarchy's being diſmembered; and the grandees could not bear the thoughts of loſing ſo many lucrative employments, which they now enjoyed. The whole kingdom was thrown into a violent ferment and agitation. The king had frequent returns of his illneſs; and it was generally expected, that every relapſe would put an end to his life. The miniſtry was weak and divided, the nobility factious and turbulent, and the people mutinous and diſcontented.

The hearts of the nation were alienated from the houſe of Auſtria, by the puſillanimous conduct of the preſent king, and, by the overbearing carriage, and rapacious diſ-

diſpoſition of the queen Mariana. The French had engaged in their intereſts, the cardinal Portocarrero, the marquis de Monterey, the marquis de la Balbazes, and many other perſons of family and diſtinction. Theſe exclaimed, that nothing could ſave the nation from the imminent dangers, with which it was threatened, but the beſtowing the crown upon a grandſon of Lewis: that the French monarch alone could preſerve the ſucceſſion entire: that the houſe of Auſtria was feeble and exhauſted: and that any prince of that line muſt owe his chief ſupport to deteſtable heretics. This laſt conſideration had a powerful influence on a bigotted and ſuperſtitious people.

Portocarrero availed himſelf of the weakneſs and irreſolution of his ſovereign. In order to remove the ſcruples of his conſcience, which ſometimes reproached him with the cruelty and injuſtice of depriving his family of its juſt rights, he adviſed him to conſult pope Innocent the twelfth on this momentous point of regulating the ſucceſſion. The pope was a creature of France; and after taking the advice of a college of cardinals, determined, that the renunciation of Maria Thereſa was null and invalid, as being extorted by compulſion, and contrary to the fundamental law of the Spaniſh monarchy.

He therefore exhorted king Charles to make a diſpoſition in favour of a grandſon of Lewis; and, by that means, contribute to the propagation of the faith, and the repoſe of Chriſtendom. The cardinal having obtained this infallible deciſion, redoubled his efforts with his ſuperſtitious maſter; who, at laſt, was perſuaded to comply with the propoſal, and actually ſigned a will in favour of the Bourbon family.

From the whole of this tranſaction, it is natural to conclude, that Lewis was never ſincere in the partition-treaty; that he only meant it as an artful contrivance to amuſe the allies, until he ſhould be able to carry his real purpoſe; and that he even employed it as a powerful, however ill-founded, argument, to perſuade the Spaniards to declare in favour of one of his grandſons.

But though he had thus ſucceeded in his perfidious endeavours, he was ſtill determined to continue the farce. His miniſters at foreign courts co-operated with thoſe of the maritime ſtates, in ſoliciting the acceſſion of the other powers of Europe. When count Zinzendorf, the Imperial ambaſſador at Paris, preſented a memorial, deſiring to know what part France would act, ſhould the king of Spain voluntarily place a grandſon of Lewis upon the throne; the marquis de Torcy anſwered

ſwered in writing, that his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would, by no means, liſten to ſuch a propoſal. Nay, when king William, who had received ſome ſecret intimation of the intrigues carried on by the French at Madrid, expoſtulated with Lewis on the ſubject, he not only denied his knowledge of the matter; but declared, that ſhould even a will be made in favour of his family, he was determined to reject the offer, and firmly adhere to the treaty of partition.

That treaty was no ſooner known in England, than it excited various, and even oppoſite ſentiments in the nation. The timid and irreſolute approved of it, as the only poſſible means of preventing the Spaniſh monarchy from becoming an acceſſion to the crown of France; and it was this ſpirit of timidity and irreſolution, which engaged king William to agree to the treaty. The brave and patriotic condemned it, as a meaſure, which would increaſe the power of France to a dangerous height; and warmly exhorted his majeſty to exert his endeavours, in conjunction with the other powers of Europe, in compelling Lewis to adhere to the renunciation, which he had formerly made.

The Jacobites exclaimed againſt it, on pretence of its dangerous and pernicious tendency, but in reality, with a view to render

the king unpopular; and this they hoped to do ſo effectually, that they actually began to concert meaſures for eſtabliſhing the ſucceſſion of the Engliſh crown, upon the pretended prince of Wales. They even diſpatched Mr. Graham to St. Germain's, with an overture to this purpoſe; and an aſſurance, that a motion would be made in the houſe of commons, to paſs a vote, that the crown ſhould not be ſupported in the execution of the partition-treaty.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when the king arrived in England, not a little chagrined at the perplexities in which he was involved; and ſoon after he received advice that the king of Spain was actually dead. He could not be ſurpriſed at this event, which had been ſo long expected; but it was attended with a circumſtance, which he could not certainly foreſee.

Charles had, by his laſt will, declared the duke of Anjou, ſecond ſon of the dauphin, ſole heir of the Spaniſh monarchy. In caſe this prince ſhould die without iſſue, or inherit the crown of France, he ordained, that Spain ſhould devolve to the duke of Berry; in default of him and his children, to the archduke Charles and his heirs; failure of whom, to the duke of Savoy and his poſterity.

It is yet a doubt, whether this will was actually ſigned by the king of Spain, or was only a forgery of Portocarrero's; the rather, as his majeſty had been ſo long in a wavering and irreſolute ſtate of mind. This much is certain, that when the teſtament, real or pretended, was notified to the French court, it afforded a new ſcene of hypocriſy and diſſimulation. The whole tranſaction had been managed and accompliſhed by the artful intrigues and policy of Lewis; and he was now determined to conclude the farce with the ſame dexterity, with which it had been begun.

A cabinet council was ſummoned in the apartments of madam de Maintenon. The miniſtry declared for the treaty of partition: the king affected a kind of neutrality: the dauphin ſpoke for his ſon, with an air of authority, which he had never before aſſumed: Pontchatrain ſeconded his arguments: Madam de Maintenon aſked, what the duke of Anjou had done to provoke the king, that he ſhould be barred of his right to that ſucceſſion? the reſt of the miniſters, influenced by theſe conſiderations, acceded to the dauphin's opinion; and the king owned himſelf convinced by their reaſons.

Lewis, having thus accepted the will, cloſetted the duke of Anjou, to whom he ſaid, in preſence of the marquis des Rios: "Sir,

" the king of Spain has made you a king: " the grandees demand you: the people " wish for you: and I give my consent: " Remember only, you are a prince of " France. But I recommend to you to love " your people, to gain their affection by the " lenity of your government, and to render " yourself worthy of the throne you are go- " ing to ascend."

The new monarch was congratulated on his elevation by all the princes of the blood: nevertheless, the duke of Orleans and his son protested against the will, because the arch-duke was put next in succession to the duke of Berry, in prejudice of their right as descendants of Anne of Austria, whose renunciation could be of no more force than that of Maria Theresa. This protest, however, did not prevent the new king's repairing to Spain, for which he set out on the fourth of December, in company with his two brothers, who attended him as far as the frontiers of that kingdom.

The French king's acceptance of the will was so contrary to his engagements with England and Holland, that he found some difficulty in justifying his conduct to those two powers. Nevertheless, he endeavoured to execute this part of the farce with the same dexte-

dexterity and addreſs with which he had performed the reſt.

His miniſter, the marquis de Torcy, waited on the earl of Mancheſter, the Engliſh ambaſſador at Paris, and repreſented, that the treaty of partition was not likely to anſwer the purpoſes, for which it had been concluded: that the emperor had refuſed to accede to it: that it was diſapproved by all the princes, to whom it had been imparted: that the people of England and Holland had expreſſed their uneaſineſs at the proſpect of France's poſſeſſing the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily: that, if Lewis had rejected the will, the archduke would have had a double title, derived from the former will, and that of the late king: that the Spaniards were ſo unwilling to ſee their monarchy diſmembered, that there would be a neceſſity for ſubduing the whole kingdom, before the treaty could be executed: that the ſhips ſtipulated by Great Britain and Holland, would not be ſufficient for effecting ſuch a purpoſe; and it was doubtful, whether theſe two powers would be willing to furniſh a more conſiderable number: that the treaty would have been more advantageous to France, than the will, which his maſter had accepted merely from a deſire of preſerving the peace of Chriſten-

Chriſtendom : and that, for theſe reaſons, his maſter hoped, that the good underſtanding would ſtill continue between him and the king of Great-Britain.

The ſame topics were employed by Briord, the French ambaſſador at the Hague ; but the States-General ordered Heemſkerke, their envoy at Paris, to preſent a memorial to the French king, expreſſing their ſurprize at his having accepted the will ; and their hope, that, as the time limited for the emperor's acceding to the treaty was not expired, he would again take the affair into his ſerious conſideration, and adhere to his engagements in every article. Lewis, adding impudence to perjury, replied, that what he chiefly conſidered, was the principal deſign of the contracting parties, namely the maintenance of peace in Europe; and that, true to this principle, he had only departed from the words, that he might the better adhere to the ſpirit of the treaty. A memorial to the ſame purpoſe was diſpatched to all the courts of Europe.

Soon after, he ſent a letter to the States, importing, that the peace of Chriſtendom was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed by the king of Spain's will in favour of his grandſon, that he did not doubt their approbation of his

his acceſſion to the Spaniſh crown. The States anſwered, that they could not declare themſelves upon affairs of ſuch conſequence without conſulting their reſpective provinces. Lewis admitted their excuſe, and aſſured them of his readineſs to concur with whatever they ſhould deſire for the ſecurity of the Spaniſh Netherlands. Don Bernardo, the Spaniſh embaſſador at Hague, preſented them with a letter from his new maſter, who likewiſe notified his acceſſion to all the courts of Europe, except that of England. This omiſſion was ſuppoſed to proceed, as well from his jealouſy of king William's deſigns, as from a promiſe, which he was ſaid to have given to the late king James, that, in due time, he would take care of his intereſts.

The emperor loudly exclaimed againſt the will, as being more unjuſt than the treaty of partition; and threatened to aſſert his right by force of arms. The Spaniards, apprehending that a league would be formed between his Imperial majeſty and the maritime powers for defeating the ſucceſſion of the duke of Anjou; and conſcious of their own inability to defend their dominions, committed themſelves entirely to the protection of France. The towns in the Spaniſh Netherlands and the dutchy of Milan,

admitted French garriſons: a French ſquadron was detached to Cadiz: and another was ſent to the Spaniſh ſettlements in the Weſt-Indies. Part of the Dutch troops, that were quartered in Mons, Luxemburg, and Namur, were made priſoners of war, becauſe they refuſed to own the king of Spain, whom their maſters had not yet acknowledged.

The States were ſtruck with terror and conſternation, eſpecially when they conſidered their own defenceleſs ſituation, and reflected, that the Spaniſh garriſons might invade their territories, before they could aſſemble an army to oppoſe their progreſs. The danger was ſo imminent, that they reſolved to acknowledge the king of Spain without farther heſitation, and accordingly wrote a letter to the French king for that purpoſe: and this was no ſooner received, than orders were diſpatched for ſending back their battallions.

Had king William been able to engage the nation in a new war, he would never have agreed to the partition-treaty; which he conſidered merely as the leaſt of two evils, and as the only poſſible means of preventing the whole Spaniſh monarchy from becoming an acceſſion to that of France. As Lewis had perfidiouſly broke this treaty, he

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was now reſolved to return to his original object, and effectually to aſſert the claim of the Auſtrian family to the Spaniſh ſucceſſion.

But he ſoon found, that he had given his confidence to a ſet of men, who would, by no means, aſſiſt him in his patriotic intentions. He had been ſo peſtered and harraſſed with the factious and turbulent ſpirit of the Whigs, that he had entirely thrown himſelf into the arms of the Tories. His chief favourite was the earl of Rocheſter, who had undertaken for that party, and was now declared lord-lieutenant of Ireland: lord Godolphin was appointed firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury: lord Tankerville ſucceeded lord Lonſdale, lately deceaſed, as keeper of the privy-ſeal: and Sir Charles Hedges was declared ſecretary of ſtate, in the room of the earl of Jerſey: but the management, of the commons was chiefly entruſted to Mr. Robert Harley, who, though ſprung of a Preſbyterian family, and educated in Whiggiſh principles, yet not having been conſidered at the Revolution, as he thought he deſerved, had hitherto oppoſed the court with equal virulence and ability.

Theſe new miniſters, conſcious that they had not ſufficient intereſt to procure a majority in the preſent parliament, perſuaded the king to diſſolve it by proclamation, and

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to issue writs for convoking a new one, which was accordingly appointed to meet on the sixth day of February.

It will not be improper to close the transactions of this year, with an account of a glorious victory obtained by the young king of Sweden. Riga was still invested by the king of Poland; while Peter, the Czar of Muscovy advanced towards Narva with an army of an hundred thousand men, purposing, in violation of all faith and justice, to share the spoils of the youthful monarch. Charles landed at Revel, compelled the Saxons to abandon the siege of Riga, and, having supplied the garrison with a small reinforcement, marched, with about eight thousand men against the Muscovites, who had undertaken the siege of Narva.

The Czar quitted his camp with some precipitation, as if he had been afraid of hazarding his person; while Charles advanced through ways that were deemed impracticable, and surprized the enemy before they were aware of his approach. He broke into their camp with incredible impetuosity, and totally routed them, after a short resistance. He took a great number of prisoners, with all their baggage, tents and artillery, and entered Narva in triumph. History can hardly furnish a parallel to this campaign;

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in which a king, in the nineteenth year of his age, marched in perſon, with a handful of troops, againſt three powerful monarchs, who had invaded his dominions with formidable armies; and totally defeated all their cruel and perfidious deſigns.

The parliament meeting on the ſixth, was prorogued to the tenth day of February,* when Mr. Harley was choſen ſpeaker by a great majority. The king, in his ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that the great loſs, which the nation had ſuſtained, in the death of the duke of Glouceſter, had rendered it abſolutely neceſſary to make ſome farther proviſion for ſettling the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line; that this was a point, which ſo nearly concerned the happineſs of the nation, and the ſecurity of their religion, that he doubted not, but it would meet with a ready and general concurrence; and he therefore begged leave to recommend it to their early and ſerious conſideration: that the death of the late king of Spain, and the declaration he had made with regard to his ſucceſſor, had produced ſuch an alteration in the affairs of Europe, as required their moſt earneſt and careful attention; and he truſted, their reſolutions on that head would

be ſuch, as ſhould be moſt conducive to the intereſt and ſafety of England, the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion, and the maintenance of the liberty and independence of Europe: that theſe were points of ſuch mighty importance, that he had judged it moſt proper to ſubmit them to the conſideration of a new parliament, that ſo he might learn the more immediate ſenſe and judgement of the nation: that large ſupplies would be neceſſary, as well for the ſervice of the current year, as for diſcharging the public debts, and making good the deficiencies of the former funds: that he hoped they would conſider the ſtate of the navy and fortifications, and make ſuch proviſion for repairing and augmenting both, as ſhould be deemed moſt expedient for the ſafety of the kingdom: that the due regulation and improvement of trade was a matter of ſo much conſequence, that it demanded their moſt ſerious and mature deliberation; and if ſome prudent method could be poſſibly deviſed of employing the poor, it would eaſe the nation of an intolerable burthen, and naturally tend to advance the manufactures: and finally that he expected, they would proceed, in their reſolutions, with ſuch vigour and unanimity, as ſhould convince the world that they were firmly united among

among themſelves; than which, in his opinion, nothing could contribute more to preſerve the internal tranquillity of the kingdom, and command the reſpect of foreign nations.

The Tories had exerted themſelves with ſo much induſtry and ſucceſs in influencing the elections for this parliament, that they had eaſily obtained a great majority. In order the more effectually to carry their point, they are even ſaid to have been ſo baſe as to ſell themſelves to the French king; from whom they are affirmed to have received conſiderable ſums of money, which they diſtributed among their creatures and dependents. Certain it is, there was, at this time, ſuch an uncommon quantity of louis-d'ors in the kingdom, that a million of guineas were coined out of them in the ſpace of ſix months only. The Tories alledged, that this was entirely owing to the ballance of trade in favour of England; but though there might be ſome truth in this aſſertion, it could never account for that vaſt flood of French gold, which was then viſible in the nation.

To render their ſuperiority ſtill more indiſputable, they took care to expel a great number of Whig-members, who had been guilty of corruption in procuring their elec-

tions. Had they proceeded with the ſame juſtice againſt thoſe of their own party, who were equally, if not more guilty, there zeal had been truly laudable: but, inſtead of obſerving this fair and impartial conduct, they artfully ſcreened their own friends from all examination.

The conduct of this parliament is ſo ſtrongly marked with faction, violence, and prejudice, and diſcovers ſuch a total diſregard to the intereſts of England, and the general liberties of Europe, that, whatever inſtruction the reader may derive from a peruſal of their proceedings, he can reaſonably expect but little pleaſure.

As a ſpecimen of their ſpirit, a great number of members had actually formed a deſign to open the ſeſſion with an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring him to acknowledge the new king of Spain; and ſuch was the diſpoſition of the houſe, that it would probably have been carried by a conſiderable majority, had it not been for a lucky expreſſion of one Mr. Monkton; who ſaid, that, if this vote was paſſed, he expected the next would be for owning the pretended prince of Wales. The connexion, it muſt be confeſſed, between theſe two objects was by no means neceſſary: though it is not unreaſonable to ſuppoſe, that moſt of thoſe, who were

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ſo keen for the one meaſure, would, had they dared to ſpeak their mind with the ſame freedom, have been as eager and zealous for the other. The Tories, however, were ſo confounded with this ſtriking reflexion, that they inſtantly deſerted the motion, which was accordingly dropped.

They ſeemed even afraid, that, ſhould they avow their principles too openly, they might incur the hatred, and perhaps too, the reſentment and indignation of the public; and they therefore reſolved, in words at leaſt, to expreſs a regard for the intereſt of the nation. They accordingly preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, in which they aſſured him, that they would defend his perſon and government, and take ſuch effectual meaſures as might beſt conduce to the intereſt and ſafety of England, and the preſervation of the Proteſtant religion. The king thanked them for this mark of their affection; and aſſured them, that he would never propoſe any thing but what ſhould be equally for their common advantage. At the ſame time, he laid before them, a memorial which he had received from the States-General, and deſired their advice and aſſiſtance in the ſeveral articles, which it contained. In this paper the States informed him, that they had acknowledged the duke of

Anjou as king of Spain: that France had agreed to begin a negociation, in which they might ſtipulate the neceſſary conditions for ſecuring the peace of Europe: that in a matter, however, of ſo much importance, they were determined to do nothing without the concurrence of his majeſty and their other allies: that they, therefore, hoped he would ſend an ambaſſador to the Hague, with the neceſſary powers and inſtructions to co-operate with them in their negociation: and that, in caſe it ſhould prove ineffectual, or Holland be ſuddenly attacked by the troops, which Lewis had ordered to advance towards their frontiers, they relied on the aſſiſtance of England; and truſted that his majeſty would prepare the ſuccours ſtipulated by treaty, to be uſed, ſhould occaſion require

The memorial was likewiſe communicated to the houſe of lords. Mean while the commons deſired, that the treaties between England and Holland, ſhould be ſubmitted to their inſpection. Theſe being peruſed, they reſolved upon an addreſs to his majeſty, deſiring him to enter into ſuch negociations with the States-General and other potentates, as might moſt effectually conduce to the mutual ſafety of Great-Britain and the States-General, as well as to the preſervation

tion of the peace of Europe; and aſſuring him of their ſupport and aſſiſtance in performance of the treaty, concluded in 1667, between England and the States General.

This reſolution, however, was not carried without violent oppoſition from the Tories, who were, by no means, diſpleaſed with the elevation of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain, and affected to believe, that no danger could from thence enſue to the general liberties of Europe. The king profeſſed his entire ſatisfaction with this addreſs, and told them that he would order his miniſters abroad to act in concert with the States-General and other powers, for the attainment of the ends, which they had now propoſed.

On the ſeventeenth of February, Mr. ſecretary Vernon communicated to the commons, by order of his majeſty, a letter written by the earl of Melfort, to his brother, the earl of Perth, governour to the pretended prince of Wales. It had been miſlaid by accident, and came to London in the French mail. From this letter it evidently appeared, that a ſcheme was formed for another invaſion of England, and that Melfort had long carried on a correſpondence with the duke of Hamilton, on that ſubject.

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The lords, to whom it was likewiſe imparted, ordered it to be printed, and preſented an addreſs to his majeſty, thanking him for his care of the liberties of England and the Proteſtant religion; requeſting him to engage in ſuch alliances, as he ſhould judge moſt proper for maintaining the ballance of power in Europe; deſiring he would give orders for ſeizing the horſes and arms of Papiſts, and for removing thoſe incendiaries from London: and finally entreating him to equip ſpeedily a ſufficient fleet for the defence of himſelf and his kingdoms. The court of France pretended to be highly incenſed at the publication of this letter, which they repreſented as an unwarrantable attempt to ſow jealouſies between the two nations; as if forſooth the Engliſh ſhould have been ſo ſtupid, as to ſhut their eyes, until their enemies had leiſure to carry their perfidious deſigns into execution.

The king, in his ſpeech had ſtrongly recommended the eſtabliſhment of the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line; and the nation in general were ſo entirely alienated from the late king, and ſo fully determined to provide for the ſecurity of their religion and liberties; that the commons imagined, they could, neither with decency, nor even with ſafety, avoid taking the matter into immediate

diate conſideration. The manner, however, in which it was conducted, diſcovered but few marks of ſincerity, and plainly proved, that, with regard to the commons, it was rather the effect of neceſſity than choice. The affair was delayed from day to day for a conſiderable time. At laſt Mr. Harley propoſed, that, previous to the nomination of any perſon to ſucceed to the crown, certain conditions ſhould be ſettled as preliminaries, in order to ſecure the privileges of the people.

Accordingly, after having deliberated on this ſubject, they agreed to the following reſolutions: that whoever ſhould hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of this crown, ſhould join in communion with the church of England, as by law eſtabliſhed: that, in caſe the crown and imperial dignity of this realm ſhould hereafter come to any perſon, not being a native of the kingdom of England, this nation ſhould not be obliged, without the conſent of the parliament, to engage in any war, for the defence of any dominions or territories, which do not belong to the crown of England: that no perſon, who ſhould hereafter come to the poſſeſſion of the crown, ſhould go out of the dominions of England, Scotland, or Ireland, without conſent of parliament; that, from and af-

ter the time, that the further limitation by this act ſhould take effect, all matters and things, relating to the well-governing of this kingdom, which are properly cognizable in the privy-council, by the laws and cuſtoms of this realm, ſhould be tranſacted there, and all reſolutions taken thereupon, ſhould be ſigned by ſuch of the privy-council as ſhould adviſe and conſent to the ſame: that, after the limitation ſhould take effect, no perſon born out of the kingdom of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or the dominions thereunto belonging, although he be naturalized, and made a denizen (except ſuch as are born of Engliſh parents) ſhould be capable to be of the privy-council, or a member of either houſe of parliament, or to enjoy any office or place of truſt, or to have any grant of lands, tenements, or hereditaments from the crown to himſelf, or to any others in truſt for him: that no perſon, who has an office or place of profit under the king, or receives a penſion from the crown, ſhould be capable of ſerving as a member of the houſe of commons: that, after the limitation ſhould take effect, the commiſſions of judges ſhould be made *quamdiu ſe bene geſſerint*, and their ſalaries aſcertained and eſtabliſhed; but, upon the addreſs of both houſes, it might be lawful to remove them:

and

and that no pardon under the great ſeal ſhould be pleadable to an impeachment by the commons in parliament.

It muſt be owned, indeed, that theſe limitations were extremely uſeful, and even neceſſary; though it muſt likewiſe be acknowledged, that ſome of them were as neceſſary in former, as they were in the preſent reign, or could poſſibly be under any future ſovereign. Nevertheleſs, they gave great diſguſt to his majeſty, as many of them implied a ſevere reflection upon his own government, and were generally ſuppoſed to be contrived on purpoſe to excite diſputes between the two houſes, and thereby to defeat the intention of the bill.

The commons, as another proof of their inſincerity, and with a view to render the affair ridiculous, employed Sir John Bowles, who was then diſordered in his ſenſes, and ſoon after deprived of them, to name the electreſs dowager of Hanover as next in ſucceſſion to the crown. Sir John, according to the forms of the houſe, was immediately put into the chair of the committee, to whom the bill was referred. The matter was treated with great coldneſs and indifference, and the diſcuſſion was delayed for ſeveral weeks, on the moſt abſurd and frivolous pretences. The committee, indeed, ſat twice on the ſub-

ſubject; but all the members ran out of the houſe with ſo much indecency, that even themſelves were aſhamed of their contrivance.

Notwithſtanding theſe obſtructions, the bill was at length paſſed, and ſent up to the peers, from whom it was expected to meet with conſiderable oppoſition. Some objections, it is true, were made to it by the marquis of Normandy; and a proteſt was entered againſt it by the earls of Huntingdon and Plymouth, and the lords Guilford and Jefferies. The majority, however, were ſo well pleaſed with the bill, that they were glad to have it carried in any manner: it was accordingly paſſed, and ſoon after received the royal aſſent. This point being gained, the king diſpatched the earl of Macclesfield to notify the tranſaction to the electreſs Sophia, and, at the ſame time, to preſent her with the order of the garter.

The Tories boaſted greatly of the important ſervice, which they had performed to the nation, in ſettling the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line. Their ſincerity, however, in that affair, may be eaſily learned from the manner in which it was conducted. Beſides, ſuch was, at that time, the temper of the nation, that, had the commons refuſed to comply with a meaſure, which the king had ſo warmly recommended in his ſpeech, the people

people would, in all probability, have inſiſted on the immediate diſſolution of the parliament, and the convocation of a new one. This is the more probable, as the king's health was now conſiderably impaired, and as this parliament, had it continued to ſit its full time, would have been the laſt that could poſſibly have met during the preſent reign.

The act of ſucceſſion, though it gave great pleaſure to all the people of England, was highly reſented by thoſe Popiſh princes, who were more nearly related to the crown than the electreſs Sophia. The dutcheſs of Savoy, grand-daughter to Charles the firſt, by her mother, ordered her ambaſſador, count Maffei, to make a proteſtation, to the Engliſh parliament, in her name, againſt all reſolutions and deciſions contrary to her title, as ſole daughter to the princeſs Henrietta, and next in ſucceſſion to the crown of England, after king William and the princeſs Anne of Denmark.

No regard, however, was paid to this declaration; and, indeed, it could hardly be expected that there ſhould: the dutcheſs ought to have conſidered, that the article of religion was the very circumſtance, which had diſqualified the late king for enjoying the crown of England; and, of conſequence, was

equally ſufficient to incapacitate all the profeſſors of the Popiſh ſuperſtition for poſſeſſing the ſame dignity. The Savoy remonſtrance ſeemed to be an affront to king James, his queen, and the pretended prince of Wales; as no notice was taken of their right, but the dutcheſs was ſubſtituted immediately after the princeſs of Denmark: a pretenſion which tended greatly to confirm the ſuſpicion of the pretender's illegitimacy.

As William's intention, in concluding the partition-treaty, was to preſerve the peace and tranquillity of Europe, he juſtly thought, that Lewis's having broke that treaty, was no reaſon, why he ſhould abandon ſuch an important object; and he therefore ordered Mr. Stanhope, his ambaſſador at the Hague, to treat with the miniſters of France and Spain, agreeable to the addreſſes of both houſes of parliament.

Accordingly, after various conſultations, the Engliſh envoy inſiſted on the following conditions: namely, that the French king ſhould immediately withdraw his troops from the Spaniſh Netherlands: that, for the ſecurity of England, the cities of Oſtend and Newport ſhould be delivered into the hands of his Britannic majeſty: that no kingdoms, provinces, cities, lands, or places, belonging to the crown of Spain, ſhould ever be yielded

yielded or transferred to the crown of France, on any pretence whatever: that the ſubjects of his Britannic majeſty ſhould retain all the privileges, rights, and immunities, with regard to navigation and commerce, in the dominions of Spain, which they enjoyed at the death of his late Catholic majeſty; as alſo all ſuch immunities, rights, and franchiſes, as the ſubjects of France or any other power, either poſſeſs for the preſent, or may enjoy for the future: that all treaties of peace and commerce between England and Spain ſhould be renewed: and that a treaty, formed on theſe demands, ſhould be guarantied by ſuch powers, as one or other of the contracting parties ſhould ſollicit and perſuade to undertake that office. Such likewiſe were the propoſals made by the States-General, with this difference, that they demanded, as cautionary towns, thoſe of Venlo, Ruremonde, Stevenſwaert, Luxemburg, Namur, Charleroy, Mons, Dendermonde, Damme, and St. Donas, with all their fortifications and appurtenances.

Theſe demands were extremely juſt and reaſonable: nevertheleſs, the French ambaſſador, the count d'Avaux, affected to think them ſo very exorbitant, that he ſaid they could not have been higher, if his maſter had loſt four ſucceſſive battles. He declared that

his moſt Chriſtian majeſty would withdraw his troops from the Spaniſh Netherlands, as ſoon as the king of Spain ſhould have forces of his own to guard the country; but, with reſpect to the other articles, he could give no other anſwer, than that he would immediately tranſmit them to Verſailles. Lewis too, pretended to reſent the propoſals, which he repreſented as highly arrogant, and as a ſure mark of the hoſtile intentions of the allies. He refuſed to give any other ſecurity for the peace of Europe, than a renewal of the treaty of Ryſwick; and, in order to prevent all oppoſition from England, he employed his agents and emiſſaries in this kingdom, to engage the members of parliament in his intereſt.

Theſe, indeed, were, of themſelves, filled with ſo many dangerous prejudices; they had ſo little regard for the intereſt of their own country, or the general liberties of Europe, that they needed but few arguments to perſuade them into a compliance with the views of the French king. Inſtead of reſenting, with a becoming ſpirit, the treachery and injuſtice of that ambitious monarch, they began to wreak their vengeance on all thoſe, who had any hand in concluding the treaty of partition. The debates in the lower houſe, on this ſubject, were carried on with ſuch extreme

extreme violence, that ſeveral members tranſgreſſed the bounds of common decency and decorum. Sir Edward Seymour compared the diviſion which had been made of the Spaniſh territories, to a robbery on the highway; and Mr. Howe had even the intol nce to call it a felonious treaty: an expreſſion, which incenſed the king to ſuch a degree, that he is reported to have ſaid, he would have demanded perſonal ſatisfaction with his ſword, had he not been reſtrained by the diſparity of condition between himſ lf and the perſon, who had offered ſuch an outrageous in ult to his honour.

The ſame topic was broached by the Tories, in the upper houſe, and the diſpute was carried on with equal vehemence and animoſity. In the courſe of the debate, the earl of Rocheſter reprehended ſome lords for ſpeaking diſreſpectfully of the French king; obſerving, that it was particularly incumbent on peers to treat monarchs with reſpect, as they derived their dignity from the crown. The earl was ſeconded by another peer, who ſaid, that the French king was not only to be reſpected, but feared; when a certain lord replied, that he hoped no man in England needed be afraid of the French king; much leſs the nobleman who ſpoke laſt, who was

too much a friend to that monarch, to fear any thing from his reſentment.

The Tories, however, were not ſatisfied with general declamations againſt the partition treaty: they reſolved to impeach all the Whig miniſters, who had any ſhare in conducting that negociation; for, with their uſual impartiality, they reſolved to ſcreen thoſe of their own party, who, if the affair was at all criminal, were equally guilty with the others. Impeachments were accordingly lodged againſt the earls of Portland and Orford, and the lords Somers and Hallifax; but the arguments advanced in ſupport of them, were ſo falſe, frivolous, and abſurd, that it was eaſy to ſee the ſpirit which prompted the proſecution, and the iſſue in which it muſt neceſſarily end.

The Tories, indeed, exerted their utmoſt efforts to make good the charge. Some of them had even the baſeneſs to tamper with Kidd, who was then a priſoner in Newgate, and endeavoured to perſuade him, by the fond hopes of life, to accuſe lord Somers, as having been concerned with him in his piratical enterprize. But that delinquent, though guilty of a capital crime, had more generoſity of ſentiment, than theſe perfidious ſuborners: he nobly diſdained to purchaſe life by accuſing a nobleman whom he knew

to

to be innocent; and he honeſtly declared, that he had never, in his life, ſo much as talked with lord Somers. Finding him unfit for their purpoſe, they left him to the courſe of the law; and he, with ſome of his crew, were hanged.

The commons, diſappointed in this quarter, and dreading the diſgrace, which they muſt neceſſarily incur, by having preferred theſe groundleſs impeachments induſtriouſly ſought for ſome plauſible opportunity of delaying the trial; hoping, that the matter might be ſuffered at laſt to ſink into oblivion, without expoſing them to that public odium, which they ſo well merited. They accordingly endeavoured to excite a quarrel between the two houſes, by laying claim to a variety of unuſual privileges, which, though ſometimes granted in extraordinary emergencies, could never be admitted in common occurences. They affected to cavil at an expreſſion of lord Haverſham, who ſaid, that they were guilty of partiality, in accuſing ſome lords and ſcreening others who were equally chargeable with the ſame miſdemeanour. They even laid hold of this circumſtance as a plauſible pretext for abſenting from the trial, when a day was at laſt appointed for the purpoſe; ſo that the four lords, having

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no proſecutors, were immediately acquitted, and the impeachments diſmiſſed.

Had the zeal of the Tories againſt the treaty of partition, proceeded from a real apprehenſion of its dangerous conſequences, on account of the great encreaſe, which it would make to the French monarchy; had it been inſpired by a ſincere regard to the intereſt of their country, and the general liberties of Europe; their conduct on this occaſion, though it would not have been entirely juſtified, might have admitted of ſome apology.

But it ſoon appeared, that they were actuated by very different motives: for when king William received a letter from his Catholic majeſty, notifying his acceſſion to the Spaniſh throne, and expreſſing a deſire to cultivate a friendſhip with the king and crown of England, they were ſo far from diſſuading him to acknowledge that monarch, that they earneſtly exhorted him to embrace ſuch a meaſure: and the king, finding it impoſſible to bring them over to his ſentiments, was at laſt obliged to comply with their requeſt.

This, in effect, ſeems to have been their aim in all their proceedings. They probably hoped, that, by the conjunction of the French and Spaniſh crowns, if not in the

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ſame perſon, at leaſt in the ſame family, the power of the Bourbons would be ſo conſiderably encreaſed, as to render them fully able to reſtore the abdicated prince to the throne of England. In this expectation, however, they were happily diſappointed. The eyes of the nation were now opened; and the people were ſo generally convinced of their treacherous intentions, that the whole kingdom reſounded with complaints of their conduct.

A petition, ſigned by the deputy-lieutenants, above twenty juſtices of the peace, the grand-jury, and freeholders of the county of Kent, was preſented to the houſe, by five gentlemen of fortune and diſtinction. The purport of this remonſtrance was, to recommend union among themſelves, and confidence on his majeſty, whoſe great actions for the nation could never be forgot without the blackeſt ingratitude: to beg they would regard the voice of the people, that their religion and liberty might be effectually ſecured: that their loyal addreſſes might be turned into bills of ſupply: and that his moſt ſacred majeſty might be enabled powerfully to aſſiſt his allies, before it ſhould be too late.

The commons were incenſed at this petition, which they voted a ſcandalous, inſolent

lent and seditious libel; and ordered the gentlemen who had presented it, to be taken into custody. Their confinement, however, tended only to inflame the spirit of the people to a still higher degree. A paper was published, supposed to be written by Daniel de Foe, and intitled, "A memorial "from the gentlemen, freeholders, and "and inhabitants of the counties of ———, "in behalf of themselves, and many thou-"sands of the good people of England." It was signed Legion, and sent to the speaker in a letter, commanding him, in the name of two hundred thousand Englishmen, to deliver it to the commons.

It began with this maxim, "that what-"ever power is above law, is burthensome "and tyrannical, and may be reduced by "extrajudicial methods." It charged the house with illegal and unwarrantable practices, in fifteen particulars, the principal of which were; their imprisoning those gentlemen, who at the command of the people, whose servants the commons were, came in a peaceable manner to remind them of their duty; their prosecuting the crime of bribery in some members, and conniving at it in those of their own party, who were equally if not more guilty; their voting the partition-treaty, fatal to Europe, because it gave

too

too great a part of the Spaniſh monarchy to the French, and yet taking no ſteps to prevent them from taking poſſeſſion of the whole; their deſerting the Dutch, when the French troops were advanced to their frontiers, and threatened them with an immediate invaſion; their blaſting the reputation of ſeveral perſons, by delaying the proſecution of capital impeachments, without endeavouring to make good the charge; their ſuffering ſaucy and indecent reproaches to be caſt upon his majeſty's perſon in the houſe; particularly their permitting with impunity, that public incendiary, John Howe, to call the partition a felonious treaty; thereby inſinuating, that that treaty, (which in every reſpect was as juſt as the blowing up of one man's houſe to ſave another's) was a combination of the king and his allies to rob the crown of Spain of its rights; a licence of language, which diſgraced the members, and converted the houſe into a Billingſgate aſſembly.

It likewiſe contained a new claim of rights, digeſted under ſeven heads, importing, among other things, that it was the undoubted right of the people of England, in caſe the repreſentatives in parliament neglect their duty and the intereſt of the nation, to inform them of their diſlike, diſown their actions,

actions, and remind them of their duty, either by petition, addreſs, memorial, or any other peaceable method; that the houſe of commons ſeparately, and otherwiſe than by bill paſſed into an act, have no legal power to ſuſpend, or diſpenſe with the laws of the land, any more than the king has by his prerogative; that, if the commons, in breach of the laws, and liberties of the people, ſhould betray the truſt repoſed in them, and act negligently, arbitrarily, or illegally, it is the undoubted right of the people of England to call them to an account for the ſame, and by convention, aſſembly, or force, may proceed againſt them, as traitors, and betrayers of their country.

Finally, the memorialiſts demanded, in their own name and that of all the people of England; that John Howe be obliged to aſk his majeſty's pardon for the injurious aſperſions he had caſt upon his character, or be immediately expelled the houſe; that the growing power of France be taken into conſideration, the ſucceſſion of the emperor to the crown of Spain ſupported, and the Proteſtant allies of England protected; and that the thanks of the houſe be given to thoſe gentlemen, who ſo gallantly appeared in behalf of their country with the Kentiſh petition, and have been ſo ſcandalouſly uſed

for

for their generous conduct. The memorial concluded in theſe words: "thus, gentlemen, have we given you a faithful repreſentation of your duty, which, it is hoped, you will have the prudence to perform. But if you continue to neglect it, you may expect to feel the reſentment of an injured nation: for Engliſhmen are no more to be ſlaves to parliaments than to kings: our name is Legion and we are many."

The commons, however regardleſs of the intereſt of their country, and the general liberties of Europe, or rather, however inclinable to ſacrifice both to their own narrow and bigotted prejudices, were ſo much intimidated by this remonſtrance, that they inſtantly began to alter their meaſures. In their former addreſſes, they had reſtricted the king to the alliance concluded with the States-General in 1677, which could be of little or no uſe in the preſent emergency: but they were now obliged to addreſs his majeſty, deſiring him to engage in ſuch new alliances with the emperor and othe ſtates, as he ſhould deem neceſſary for bridl ng the exorbitant power of France, and maintaining the independency of Europe.

In order to ſupport him in theſe new engagements, and enable him to defray the

other public expences, they granted the ſum of a million and a half; to be raiſed by a land-tax, certain duties upon merchandiſe, and a weekly deduction from the exciſe, ſo as to bring down the civil liſt to ſix hundred thouſand pounds; as the duke of Glouceſter was dead, and James's queen refuſed her allowance. They voted thirty thouſand ſeamen, and reſolved that ten thouſand troops ſhould be ſent to the aſſiſtance of the States-General. They paſſed a bill for taking away all privilege of parliament, in legal proſecutions, during the intermediate prorogations; and they introduced another for appointing commiſſioners to examine and ſtate the public accounts. In this, however, they had named ſo many of the Tory-faction, that the lords took the liberty of making ſome amendments. The commons objected to any alterations: the peers inſiſted on their privilege: and the former animoſity was beginning to revive between the two houſes, when the king interrupted their diſputes, by putting an end to the ſeſſion, on the twenty-fourth day of June, after having thanked the parliament for their zeal in the public ſervice, and exhorted them to the diſcharge of their duties in their ſeveral counties.

He was, no doubt, extremely pleaſed with ſuch an iſſue of a ſeſſion, that had begun with a very

a very unfavourable aſpect. His health was now conſiderably impaired, and was daily becoming more infirm: but he concealed the decay of his conſtitution, that his allies might not be diſcouraged from engaging in a confederacy, which was ſo neceſſary for the general intereſt of Europe, and of which himſelf was deemed the chief head and ſupport. He beſtowed the command of the ten thouſand auxiliaries on the earl of Marlborough, whom he likewiſe appointed his plenipotentiary to the States General: and indeed, his choice could not have fallen upon a more proper perſon; for that nobleman was equally qualified for making a figure in the field and the cabinet.

William, having named a regency, * embarked for Holland, in the beginning of July; and, on his arrival at the Hague, aſſiſted at an aſſembly of the States General, whom he addreſſed in a very affectionate ſpeech, and was anſwered with great cordiality. Soon after he made a progreſs round the frontiers, to viſit the towns and garriſons: and gave ſuch orders as he judged neceſſary for the better defence and ſecurity of the country.

* The regency was compoſed of the archbiſhop of Canterbury; Sir Nathan Wright, lord-keeper; the earl of Pembroke, firſt commiſſioner of the admiralty; the duke of Devonſhire, the earl of Jerſey, and lord Godolphin.

Every thing now ſeemed to tend towards a new war between France and Holland. The French ambaſſador, D'Avaux, was recalled from the Hague, and delivered to the States General a letter from his maſter, who complained, that they had interrupted the conferences, from which no good fruits were to be expected: but he aſſured them, that it depended wholly upon themſelves, whether they ſhould continue to receive marks of his ancient friendſhip for their republic. This letter was accompanied with an inſolent memorial, to which the States-General returned a very ſpirited anſwer. As they plainly perceived the hoſtile intentions of France, they exerted their utmoſt endeavours in making preparations for their own defence. They repaired their fortifications, augmented their army, and hired auxiliaries from various quarters.

King William and they had already concluded an alliance with the king of Denmark, who engaged to furniſh a certain number of troops, in conſideration of a ſubſidy; and they endeavoured to mediate a peace between Sweden, and Poland: but this they could not effect. France had likewiſe offered her mediation between theſe powers, in hopes of ſecuring Sweden in her intereſt; and the court of Vienna had ſolicited

licited the aſſiſtance of Poland; but Auguſtus, being now freed from the intrigues of the dyet, reſolved to perſiſt in the proſecution of the war.

Mean while the Spaniards were far from being ſatisfied with the conduct of their new maſter. They were ſhocked at the inſolence of his French miniſters and attendants, and much more at the manners and cuſtoms, which they introduced. The grandees found themſelves entirely neglected by their ſovereign, and reſented his narrow and parſimonious diſpoſition; for he had endeavoured to retrench the expence of the court, which uſed to ſupport their grandeur and magnificence.

Though all Europe was intereſted in humbling the power of the Bourbon family, the emperor was the perſon, who was more immediately affected by the acceſſion of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain. Ferdinand, enraged at the perfidious conduct of the French court, reſolved to do himſelf juſtice by force of arms, and with that view aſſembled an army, the command of which he beſtowed upon prince Eugene.

That general entered Italy by Vincenza, paſſed the Adige without oppoſition, and defeated a body of French forces in the neighbourhood of Carpi. Being afterwards

attacked by the duke of Savoy and prince Vaudemont, in his intrenchments at Chiari, he not only maintained his ground, but obliged the enemy to retire with the loſs of five thouſand men. Towards the end of the campaign, he took poſſeſſion of all the Mantuan territories, except Mantua itſelf, and Goits, which he immediately blocked up. He reduced all the places on the Oglio, and continued in the field during the whole winter, exhibiting repeated marks of the moſt undaunted courage, indefatigable vigilance, and conſummate prudence.

In the month of January he formed a deſign of ſurprizing Cremona; and this project he had well nigh accompliſhed. There was an old acqueduct, which led into the town; but being deemed impaſſable, it was entirely neglected. Through this he introduced a body of men, who forced one of the gates by which the prince and his followers entered. Villeroy, the governour, being awakened by the noiſe, ran out into the ſtreets, where he was taken priſoner; and the town muſt have been infallibly reduced, had prince Eugene been ſupported by another body of troops, which he had ordered to advance from the Parmeſan, to ſecure the bridge. Theſe not arriving in time, an Iriſh regiment in the French ſervice took poſ-

poſſeſſion of the bridge; and the prince was obliged to retire with his priſoners, including Villeroy and ſeveral other perſons of diſtinction. This enterprize, though it had failed in its main purpoſe, was conducted with ſuch ſpirit and intrepidity, as greatly enhanced the military fame of prince Eugene, who was now conſidered as the moſt conſummate general of the age.

The French king, alarmed at the progreſs of the Imperialiſts, ſent a reinforcement, to his army in Italy, and appointed the duke of Vendome to command his forces in that country. He likewiſe importuned the duke of Savoy to furniſh him with ſome auxiliaries: but that prince, having obtained all he could expect from France, became cold and backward. His ſecond daughter was by this time married to the new king of Spain, who met her at Barcelona, where the nuptials were celebrated. Philip was now fallen into a bad ſtate of health, and had frequent returns of a feveriſh diſtemper. He was likewiſe involved in a warm diſpute with the States of Catalonia, who refuſed to pay a tax he had impoſed, until he ſhould confirm their privileges; and after a long and violent altercation he was at laſt obliged to grant their demand.

Lewis,

Lewis, disappointed in his applications to the duke of Savoy, endeavoured to procure assistance from other quarters. He engaged in his interest the elector of Bavaria, and his brother the elector of Cologne, together with the dukes of Wolfembuttle and Saxe Gotha, who, while they affected to maintain a neutrality, proceeded in levying troops, and making such preparations for war, as plainly shewed that they had received subsidies from France. He likewise found means to form such a strong party in the Portuguese councils, that his most Faithful majesty, though personally attached to the Austrian family, was obliged to agree to a treaty of alliance with the French monarch.

King William was apprized of all these proceedings of Lewis, and exerted himself with uncommon diligence, in order to render his schemes abortive. With this view, he projected an alliance between the emperor, England, and the States General; conferences were immediately opened on the subject; and, after a short deliberation, the treaty was concluded on the seventh day of September. This treaty imported, that the contracting parties should cultivate a perpetual and inviolable friendship: that they should procure satisfaction to the emperor in the Spanish succession, and sufficient security for

for the dominions and commerce of the allies: that they ſhould endeavour to recover the Spaniſh Netherlands, as a barrier between Holland and France; and obtain for the emperor, the dutchy of Milan, and the kingdoms of Naples and Sicily, together with the lands and iſlands on the coaſt of Tuſcany, belonging to the Spaniſh dominions: that the king of England and the States General ſhould keep and poſſeſs whatever lands and cities they ſhould conquer from the Spaniards in the Indies: that the confederates ſhould faithfully communicate their deſigns to each other: that they ſhould treat of no peace or truce but by common conſent: that they ſhould concur in preventing the union of France and Spain under the ſame government; and hindering the French from poſſeſſing the Spaniſh Indies: that, in concluding a peace, they ſhould provide for the maintenance of the commerce carried on by the maritime powers to the dominions taken from the Spaniards: that they ſhould at the ſame time ſettle the exerciſe of religion in the new conqueſts: that they ſhould aſſiſt one another with all their forces, in caſe of being invaded by the French king, or any other potentate, on account of this alliance: that, even after the peace, a defenſive alliance ſhould remain between them, for the main-

maintenance of the public tranquillity: that all kings, princes and ſtates ſhould be at liberty to engage in this alliance: that they ſhould employ two months to obtain, by amicable means, the ſatisfaction which they demanded: and that in ſix weeks the treaty ſhould be ratified by the contracting parties.

Several animadverſions were made upon this treaty, particularly in a tract, ſuppoſed to be written by the lord Somers; who endeavoured to prove, that nothing but the expulſion of the duke of Anjou from the throne of Spain, and the eſtabliſhment of that crown in the Auſtrian family, could effectually ſecure the liberties of Europe.

About this time there happened an event which had been long expected by the world in general, and was by no means diſagreeable to the Engliſh nation. This was the death of the late king, who, after having laboured under a tedious indiſpoſition, expoſed at St. Germains on the ſixteenth day of September. James had acted up to the true character of his family, to wit, that they were better qualified to bear adverſity than proſperity. Since the miſcarriage of his laſt attempt for recovering his throne, he had laid aſide all thoughts of worldly affairs, and devoted his whole attention to the concerns of his ſoul. Though he could not prevent

prevent the buſy genius of his queen from forming new plans of reſtoration, he was always beſt pleaſed when wholly diſengaged from ſuch chimerical projects. Hunting was his chief diverſion; but religion was his conſtant care.

Nothing could be more harmleſs than the life he led; and in the courſe of it he ſubjected himſelf to uncommon ſeverities. He kept all the faſts with remarkable ſtrictneſs; and by way of penance, frequently confined his body with a ſharp pointed iron chain. He paid an annual viſit to the poor monks of La Trappe, who were much edified by his humble and pious deportment. His pride and arbitrary temper ſeemed to have vaniſhed with his greatneſs. He became affable, kind and eaſy, to all his dependants; and his religion appears, in ſome meaſure, to have improved the virtues of his heart, though it certainly impaired the faculties of his ſoul

In his laſt illneſs, he took no notice of the legitimacy of his ſon; an omiſſion, that was ſubject to different conſtructions. Some imagined his ſincerity would not allow him to affirm a falſhood in his dying moments; while others believed, that having mentioned the matter ſo frequently before, he thought it needleſs to

reſume

reſume it in his laſt extremity. Be that as it will, he treated him as his ſon in every reſpect. He conjured him to prefer his religion to all worldly conſiderations, and even to renounce the thoughts of a crown, if he could not enjoy it, without offering violence to his faith. He recommended to him the practice of juſtice and chriſtian forgiveneſs; he himſelf declaring, that he heartily forgave the prince of Orange, the emperor, and all his enemies. He died with great marks of devotion, and agreeable to his own deſire, was buried in the church of the Engliſh Benedictines in Paris, without any funeral ſolemnity.

Immediately after his death, a queſtion was ſtarted in the French council, what ſteps ſhould be taken with regard to his ſon. The miniſtry agreed in adviſing their maſter to remain paſſive, and allow him to aſſume what title he pleaſed: but the dauphin and madam de Maintenon eſpouſed the intereſt of the pretended prince of Wales, and perſuaded Lewis to acknowledge him as king. Accordingly he was proclaimed king of England at St. Germains, and treated as ſuch at the court of Verſailles. His title was likewiſe recognized by the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the pope.

Wil-

William was no ſooner informed of this tranſaction, than he diſpatched a courier to the king of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Ryſwick, to complain of this manifeſt violation. At the ſame time he recalled the earl of Mancheſter from Paris, and ordered him to return without taking leave. That nobleman immediately withdrew, after having acquainted the marquis de Torcy with the order he had received. Lewis endeavoured to vindicate his own conduct in a long manifeſto, which he diſperſed throughout Europe, and the ſubſtance of which was even publiſhed in London, by Pouſſin, ſecretary to the French ambaſſador, who had been left as agent for the court of Verſailles. This paper was ſuppreſſed by order of the government, and Pouſſin commanded to depart the kingdom. The whole nation was enraged at Lewis, for pretending to declare who ſhould be their ſovereign. Addreſſes were preſented to the lords-juſtices, by the city of London, and by all the counties and corporations in the kingdom, expreſſing the deepeſt reſentment of the French king's preſumption: and aſſuring his majeſty, that they would, at all times, exert the utmoſt of their abilities for the preſervation of his perſon, and the defence

of his juſt rights, in oppoſition to all invaders of his crown and dignity.

Theſe addreſſes were tranſmitted to the king, who was ſtill in Holland; and who having now finiſhed his treaties of alliance, reſolved to return to his own kingdom. His voyage, however, was, for ſome time, delayed by a ſevere indiſpoſition, which, though he was able at laſt to overcome it, impaired his conſtitution to ſuch a degree, that he plainly perceived his end was approaching. He told the earl of Portland, he felt himſelf ſo weak that he could not expect to live another ummer: but conſcious, as he was, that the apprehenſion of his death would be extremely prejudicial to the general intereſt of Europe, he charged him to conceal this circumſtance until he ſhould be actually dead.

Mean while he embarked for England, and landed at Margate on the fourth day of November. The firſt point debated in council, after his arrival, was, whether it would be moſt prudent to continue or diſſolve the preſent parliament. The commons in the laſt ſeſſion had diſcovered their principles in ſuch a plain and alarming manner, that it ſeemed dangerous to truſt them with another meeting: and ſome of them had even declared, in private conferences, that

that they were determined to adhere to their former maxims. The parliament was accordingly diſſolved on the eleventh day of the month, and a new one appointed to meet on the thirteenth of December.

Never did the two parties proceed with ſuch zeal and activity in influencing the elections; but the nation was ſo fully apprized of the pernicious deſigns of the Tories, that the Whigs obtained an inconteſtible majority. Nevertheleſs the choice of ſpeaker fell upon Harley, who was deemed the principal leader of the former faction, and who was ſet up in oppoſition to Sir Thomas Lyttleton, recommended by the court.

The king, in his ſpeech to both houſes told them, that he hoped they were met with a juſt ſenſe of the imminent danger, to which the liberties of Europe were expoſed, and a proper reſentment of the inſolent affront, which the French had offered to the Engliſh nation: that the owning the pretended prince of Wales as king of England, was not only the higheſt indignity to him and his people, but ought likewiſe to alarm every thinking perſon, who wiſhed well to the liberties and religion of his country; and ſhould prompt their endeavours to make ſome farther proviſion for ſecuring the ſuc-

ceſſion in the Proteſtant line, and extinguiſhing the hopes of all pretenders, and their open and their ſecret abettors: that the French king, by placing his grandſon on the throne of Spain in violation of the moſt ſacred and ſolemn engagements, had put himſelf in a condition to oppreſs the reſt of Europe, unleſs ſome effectual meaſures were taken to defeat his wicked and pernicious deſigns; that, under colour of his grandſon's name, he had rendered himſelf entire maſter of the whole Spaniſh monarchy; and ſurrounded his neighbours with ſuch dangers and difficulties, that, though they were amuſed with the appearance of peace, they were yet expoſed to all the expence and inconveniences of war: that the exhorbitant power of the Bourbon family muſt prove extremely prejudicial to the trade of England, and might even in the end endanger her independency: that, in order to prevent the dreadful calamities, which threatened the liberties of Europe, he had, agreeable to the advice given him by both houſes of parliament, concluded ſeveral alliances, which he would order to be laid before them, and which he doubted not but they would enable him to fulfil: that there were ſome other treaties ſtill depending, which he would likewiſe communicate to them, ſo ſoon as they

ſhould

ſhould be perfected: that the eyes of all Europe were fixed upon this parliament; and would take their meaſures according to the reſolutions which the two houſes ſhould embrace: that, by the bleſſing of God, they had now an opportunity to ſecure to themſelves and their poſterity, the quiet enjoyment of their religion and liberties; but, if they neglected to improve the preſent occaſion, they could never expect to be favoured with another: that, if they meant, as he hoped, to diſcharge their duty, they behoved to provide a conſiderable naval and land force, proportionable to that of the allies: that he begged leave to recommend theſe matters to their ſerious conſideration, with all that concern and earneſtneſs, which their importance required: that he hoped they would maintain the public credit, which could never be preſerved, but by adhering inviolably to that ſacred maxim, "that thoſe "who truſt to parliamentary ſecurity, ſhould "never be loſers by ſuch a confidence:" that he was extremely ſorry to be ſo frequently obliged to aſk aids of his people; but it ought to be remembered, that he deſired nothing for himſelf; he only preſſed them to conſult their own ſafety, at ſo critical a juncture; and ſolemnly promiſed, that what was granted ſhould be faithfully applied to

the particular purpoſes, for which it was allotted: that, ſince he was ſpeaking on this ſubject, he thought proper to remind them, that during the late war, he cauſed the accounts to be laid annually before the parliament, and likewiſe gave his aſſent to ſeveral bills for inquiring into that matter, in order to convince his ſubjects, that the money granted was faithfully expended; and that he was willing to ſubject that affair to any other ſcrutiny, the better to diſcover, whether the public debt was owing to the ſmallneſs of the ſupplies, or the deficiency of the funds: that the more effectually to obtain theſe important points, they behoved to proceed with vigour and diſpatch; and he hoped they would devote the reſt of the ſeſſion to the preparing good bills for employing the poor, encouraging trade, and ſuppreſſing immorality: that he hoped they were met with a fixed reſolution to avoid diſputes and differences, and determined to act with a hearty concurrence, in promoting the intereſt and welfare of their country: that he ſhould eſteem it the greateſt bleſſing that could befal England, if they were as much inclined to lay aſide thoſe unhappy animoſities, which divided and weakened them, as he was diſpoſed to forgive all offences, even the higheſt, which could be committed againſt

againſt his perſon: that he hoped they would diſappoint the deſigns of their enemies, by their concord and unanimity; and, as he had hitherto ſhown, and always would ſhow his anxious deſire to be reckoned the father of his people, he begged they would lay aſide all parties and diviſions, and allow no other diſtinction to be heard of among them, but of thoſe who were friends to the Proteſtant religion, and the preſent eſtabliſhment, and thoſe who wiſhed for a Popiſh prince and French government: and that, if they deſired, in good earneſt, to ſee England hold the ballance of Europe, and act as the head of the Proteſtant intereſt, it would appear by their improving the preſent opportunity.

This excellent and patriotic ſpeech met with that univerſal applauſe, which it ſo richly deſerved. The two houſes preſented ſeparate addreſſes to his majeſty, in which they aſſured him, that they felt the moſt ſtrong and lively reſentment at the proceedings of the French king, in owning the pretended prince of Wales as king of England: that they would aſſiſt his majeſty, to the utmoſt of their power, againſt all his enemies: and that, ſhould it pleaſe God to deprive them of his protection, they would vigorouſly aſſiſt and defend, againſt the pretended prince of Wales,

Wales, and all other pretenders whatſoever, every perſon and perſons, who had right to ſucceed to the crown of England, by virtue of the acts of parliament, for ſettling and limiting the ſucceſſion.

The lords, as a farther mark of their zeal, drew up another addreſs, in which they declared. That they were fully convinced of the imminent dangers which threatened the liberties of Europe, from the acceſſion of the duke of Anjou to the crown of Spain: that the French king, by his conduct in that affair, as well as by his behaviour in every other tranſaction, had ſhewn himſelf the moſt impudent and ſhameleſs violator of treaties, that ever exiſted: that it was their fixed opinion, that his majeſty, his ſubjects, and allies, could never be ſafe and ſecure, until the houſe of Auſtria ſhould be reſtored to their rights, and the invader of the Spaniſh monarchy brought to reaſon: that they begged leave to aſſure his majeſty, that no time ſhould be loſt, nor any thing wanting on their parts, which might anſwer the reaſonable expectations of their friends abroad: and that they doubted not but they ſhould be fully able to ſupport the reputation of the Engliſh name, when engaged under ſo great a prince, in the glorious cauſe of maintaining the liberties of Europe.

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The king, being desirous to convince the nation, that, in all his measures, he had been actuated by a real regard to the interest of England, caused copies of the treaties and conventions, which he had lately concluded, to be laid before the commons; and these were so well approved, that the house immediately voted the supply. This was to be raised by an imposition of four shillings in the pound upon lands, annuities, pensions, stipends, and on the profits arising from the different professions: by a tax of two and a half per cent on all stock in trade, and money at interest; and of five shillings in the pound on all salaries, fees, and perquisites: by a capitation-tax of four shillings: an imposition of one per cent on all shares in the capital stock of any corporation or company, which should be bought, sold, or bargained for: a duty of six-pence per bushel on malt: and a further duty on mum, cyder, and perry.

The exchequer was empowered to borrow six hundred thousand pounds, at six per cent for the service of the fleet: and fifty thousand pounds for the subsistence of the guards and garrisons. Forty thousand men were voted for the sea-service, and a like number for the land; this last being the proportion, which his

his majesty had promised in the alliance he had contracted.

On the ninth day of January,* the commons unanimously resolved, that leave should be given to bring in a bill for securing his majesty's person, and the succession of the crown in the Protestant line; and for extinguishing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales, and all other pretenders, and their open and secret abettors. And next day they further resolved to address his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to insert an article in all his treaties of alliance, importing, that no peace should be made with France, until his majesty and the nation had received satisfaction for the great indignity offered by the French king, in owning and declaring the pretended prince of Wales, king of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The two houses seemed to vie with each other in expressing their zeal for the present establishment. The commons introduced a bill for attainting the pretended prince of Wales; which, being sent up to the other house, passed with an additional clause of attainder against the queen, who acted as regent. Strong opposition, however, was made to this clause; it being alledged, that no

* A. D. 1702.

no evidence could be brought to make good the charge; but the fact was so notorious, that it was deemed equal to the most legal proof.

When the bill was returned to the commons, they objected to the amendment, as irregular. They said, that such a proceeding could be justified by no precedent, except a single one in the reign of Henry the eighth; which was, likewise, allowed to be a very hard measure: that attainders by bill constituted the most rigorous part of the law: and that the stretching it beyond the necessary bounds ought to be carefully avoided. They therefore proposed, that the queen should be attainted by a separate bill. The lords agreed to the proposal, and the bill against the pretended prince of Wales passed. The lords passed another, for attainting the queen: but it was suffered to die in the house of commons.

Though the Whigs possessed an incontestible majority in both houses, there was yet in each a considerable number of Tories, who endeavoured to defeat some popular measures, which were nevertheless carried. A bill was brought into the upper house for abjuring the pretended prince of Wales, and swearing to the king, by the title of rightful and lawful king, and his heirs, according

cording to the act of ſettlement. It was likewiſe propoſed, that this oath ſhould be voluntary and ſhould only be tendered to all perſons, and their ſubſcription or refuſal recorded without any other penalty.

The Tories, headed by the earl of Nottingham, exerted their utmoſt efforts, in order to overthrow this neceſſary bill. They alledged, that the preſent government was firſt ſettled with another oath, which was like an original; and that it was neither juſt nor reaſonable to add a new obligation: that oaths relating to men's opinions had always been conſidered as ſevere impoſitions: and that a voluntary oath was in its own nature unlawful; ſince no man could ſwear lawfully, unleſs required to it by a ſuperior authority.

To this it was anſwered, that, in ancient times, the oath of allegiance was ſhort and ſimple, becauſe it was univerſally believed, that princes had no other right, than what they enjoyed by law; but that, of late, and indeed very lately, new opinions had been ſtarted of a divine right, with which former ages were totally unacquainted; and it was therefore neceſſary to know, who embraced and who rejected theſe opinions: that the preſent government was, at firſt, eſtabliſhed upon a very comprehenſive footing,

ing, from a fond expectation, that all parties would, in time, be induced to concur in ſupporting it: that theſe expectations, however, had been found to be ill-grounded; diſtinctions had been made between a king *de jure* and a king *de facto*; and the authors of theſe diſtinctions had thereby declared, that they believed the right to be ſtill lodged in the late king and his family: that this opinion muſt oblige its advocates to adhere to ſuch pretenders, ſhould they ever come to aſſert their claim; and it was therefore neceſſary for the government to know, upon whom, in ſuch an emergency, it could with ſafety rely: that the teſt now propoſed, was entirely free from penalty or compulſion; and of conſequence, could never be conſidered in the light of a hardſhip: that with regard to the unlawfulneſs of a voluntary oath, it was a mere cavil; any government's tendering an oath, though accompanied with no penalty, was, of itſelf, a ſufficient authority for its being taken by thoſe, who were ſatisfied with its ſubſtance: that it was to be hoped, the preſent oath would be taken by ſuch as wiſhed well to the government, and ſuch as refuſed it, would thenceforth be obliged to behave with greater caution, having thus afforded ſuch juſt cauſe to ſuſpect their intentions: and that,

while the right of a pretender was openly maintained by ſo many princes on the continent, and while there was too much reaſon to ſuppoſe, that many of the natives of theſe kingdoms were infected with the ſame prejudice, it ſeemed neceſſary to deviſe ſome certain certain method to diſcover, who were the friends, and who were the enemies of the government; who obeyed it from a conviction of its lawfulneſs, and who ſubmitted to it only as a ſucceſsful uſurpation.

The Tories, baffled in the upper houſe, reſolved to try their ſtrength in the lower. They introduced a new bill of abjuration, clogged with ſuch clauſes, as, in their opinion, would be ſufficient to render it abortive. Theſe were, that all the ſubſcribers ſhould engage to maintain the government in the king, lords, and commons; and to ſupport the church of England and the toleration.

The Whigs rejected the former clauſe with the utmoſt indignation. They obſerved that the lords and commons were no parts of the government or the executive power, but only of the conſtitution, or legiſlative authority: that this was plainly a republican principle, and had been frequently condemned by thoſe very perſons, who now preſſed it with ſuch inſidious earneſtneſs: that if the conſtitution was in danger, it might be ſecured by a

ſe-

ſeparate act; but, as the extinguiſhing the hopes of the pretended prince of Wales, was the only object of the preſent bill, it was improper to crowd it with any foreign matter.

The clauſe in favour of the church and the toleration was likewiſe laid aſide. The diſſenters, it was evident, would never ſwear to maintain the church; and even the moſt moderate churchmen might deem it impolitic to ſwear to the maintenance of the toleration: thinking, perhaps, that, however reaſonable that indulgence, it was yet neceſſary to keep the diſſenters in awe, and to oblige them, by a fear of the danger, to which they ſtood expoſed, to behave with proper modeſty and ſubmiſſion.

A long debate enſued upon the queſtion, whether the oath ſhould be voluntary or impoſed? On the one hand it was urged, that, by leaving it voluntary, it would be a ſurer teſt of the principles and prejudices of the ſeveral parties, and enable the government more certainly to know, who were its friends, and who were its enemies: that it would prevent all temptation to perjury; one of the moſt pernicious and deſtructive vices, that could poſſibly prevail in any nation: that, though the king might ſtill employ thoſe, who refuſed to take the oath, he would yet be inclined, from a regard to his

own ſafety, to repoſe his chief confidence in ſuch, as gave this convincing proof of their zeal for his government; whereas the contrary method would open the door to all kind of perjury, and introduce, not only into the firſt poſts of the ſtate, but even into his majeſty's councils, thoſe who were, in their hearts, inveterate enemies to the preſent eſtabliſhment; enemies, ſo much the more dangerous, as, by their ſituation, they would be the better enabled, and, by the guilt they had contracted, would be the more diſpoſed, to ruin the religion and liberties of their country; for it might, without any breach of charity, be affirmed, that thoſe, who, for the ſake of worldly advantages, or, perhaps, for leſs excuſable purpoſes, could be induced to take an oath, which they ſecretly condemned, would never be reſtrained, by a principle of conſcience, from the commiſſion of any other crime.

It was alledged on the other hand, that, even allowing the method of impoſition to be attended with all the inconveniences, with which it was charged, it was yet the ſafeſt and moſt prudent expedient: it would prevent all thoſe, who were enemies to the government, and were yet convinced of the ſacredneſs of an oath, from having it in their power to betray their country: it would induce

duce ſuch as had ſome objections to the preſent eſtabliſhment, and were, at the ſame time, actuated by a ſpirit of ambition, to examine carefully, whether their objections were founded on principle or prejudice; and, if they ſhould appear to proceed from the latter ſource, it might convert them from enemies into friends of the government, and prompt them to ſupport it with the ſame cordiality, with which they formerly oppoſed it: it would confirm thoſe, whoſe principles and prejudices were equally weak, and whoſe minds were in a wavering and unſettled condition, and engage them more readily to adhere to their duty; and, in any event, it ſeemed altogether unreaſonable to ſuffer any perſons to enjoy the lucrative places in a government, without obliging them, in the moſt ſolemn manner to ſerve it faithfully; or without ſubjecting them to the greateſt guilt, and, of conſequence, to the greateſt puniſhment, ſhould they have the baſeneſs to betray it.

The truth is, the arguments on both ſides, were ſo nearly equiponderant, that it is no wonder if the commons were divided in their ſentiments; and, accordingly, it was carried that it ſhould be impoſed, by the ſmall majority of a ſingle vote. Nevertheleſs, in order to render it more comprehenſive, beſides

including thoſe, who enjoyed any place or poſt under the government, it was to be exacted of all clergymen, fellows of colleges, ſchool-maſters, and private tutors.

It likewiſe contained a clauſe, denouncing the ſame penalties againſt ſuch, as ſhould compaſs or imagine the death of the princeſs Anne, as againſt thoſe, who formed the like deſigns againſt the life of the king's eldeſt ſon. The Tories had invidiouſly trumped up a report, that the Whigs deſigned to overlook the title of her royal highneſs, and to ſubſtitute the electreſs of Hanover immediately after the king; and they therefore pretended, that this clauſe would be violently oppoſed by the generality of the Whigs. But great was their mortification, when they found they were diſappointed. The clauſe was admitted without a ſingle diſſenting voice. Nevertheleſs the Tories ſucceeded in their main purpoſe. They had poſſeſſed the princeſs with ſuch ſtrong ſuſpicions of the deſigns of the Whigs, that, though their conduct in this affair ought entirely to have removed them, ſhe ſtill continued to entertain a bad opinion of that party.

In this ſtate the bill was paſſed, and ſent up to the houſe of peers, where it met with a vio-

a violent oppoſition from the Tories. They firſt endeavoured to inſert a clauſe, excuſing the peers from the obligation of taking it. Had this point been gained, the bill had certainly been loſt; for the commons would never have agreed to ſuch an exemption. Diſappointed in this quarter, they next attempted to bring it back to the nature of a voluntary oath, but this motion was likewiſe rejected with the utmoſt indignation. Nothing, indeed, could be more ridiculous than ſuch a propoſal, from men, who had affirmed that voluntary oaths were, in their own nature, unlawful. Baffled in theſe attempts, they were reduced to the utmoſt extremity; and in the rage of diſappointment, propoſed a great number of clauſes, which at once diſcovered the poverty of their invention, and their hatred to the government: but, notwithſtanding all their oppoſition, the bill was finally paſſed by a conſiderable majority; though ten * peers proteſted againſt it.

The Tories had endeavoured to perſuade the people, that the acceſſion of the duke of Anjou

* The peers who proteſted againſt the abjuration-bill, were Winchelſea, Denbigh, Guildford, Craven, Weymouth, Plymouth, Nottingham, Scarſdale, Stawell, Jefferies.

Anjou to the crown of Spain would be attended with no conſequences, that could, in the leaſt, prove dangerous to the intereſt of England or the general liberties of Europe. But the falſity of this aſſertion was now ſo apparent, and the deſigns of the French king were became ſo notorious, that the whole nation ſeemed to join in the cry for a war againſt that monarch.

Party-heats began to abate; and the factions in the city of London were, in a great meaſure, extinguiſhed by the union of the two companies trading to the Eaſt-Indies, which found, that their mutual intereſt required a coalition. The Tories in the houſe, perceiving, that in ſpite of all their endeavours to prevent it, the ſeſſion was like to have a favourable iſſue, reſolved to embroil the public affairs, by introducing ſome diſputes of a very delicate nature. With this view they attempted to juſtify the conduct of their own party in the preceding parliament. They complained of ſome petitions and addreſſes, which had reflected upon the proceedings of the laſt houſe of commons, and particularly, of the Kentiſh petition. It was carried, however, by a conſiderable majority, that it was the undoubted right of the people of England, to petition or addreſs the king, for the calling, ſitting, or

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diſſolving of parliaments, and for the redreſſing of grievances; and that every ſubject, under any accuſation, either by impeachment or otherwiſe, had a right to be brought to a ſpeedy trial. Not diſcouraged by this diſappointment, they now preferred another complaint, that the lords had denied the commons juſtice in the matter of the impeachments. This queſtion bore a longer diſpute than the former; but at laſt it met with the ſame fate.

The commons, however, while they thus condemned the conduct of the Tories in the laſt parliament, were determined to maintain the dignity of their own houſe. They therefore reſolved, that to aſſert that the houſe of commons is not the only repreſentative of the commons of England, tends to the ſubverſion of the rights and privileges of the houſe of commons, and the fundamental conſtitution of the government of this kingdom: that to aſſert that the houſe of commons has no power of commitment, but of their own members, tends to the ſubverſion of the conſtitution of the houſe of commons: and that to print or publiſh any books or libels, reflecting upon the proceedings of the houſe of commons, or any member thereof, for or relating to his ſervice therein, is a high violation

violation of the rights and privileges of the houſe of commons.

Theſe tranſactions, however intereſting, did not prevent them from attending to matters of a more public and important nature. They addreſſed the king to interpoſe with his allies, that they might increaſe their quotas of land-forces to be put on board the fleet, in proportion to the numbers, which his majeſty ſhould embark. After having ſettled the ſums appropriated to the ſeveral uſes of the war, they preſented a ſecond addreſs, deſiring, that, in the recruits and levies to be made, he would provide for the half-pay officers, in the firſt place, and in preference to any other. The king aſſured them, that it was always his intention to purſue the method, which they now recommended. At the ſame time, in order to encourage the diſpatch of public buſineſs, he went to the houſe of peers, and gave the royal aſſent to a bill, which had miſcarried in the laſt parliament, and was entitled, An act for appointing commiſſioners to take, examine, and determine the debts due to the army, navy, and the tranſport ſervice; and alſo an account of prizes taken during the war.

Soon after was projected a moſt excellent and patriotic ſcheme, which failed ſolely through the unhappy diſcontents, which prevailed

vailed in the northern parts of the iſland. This was an union of the two kingdoms of England and Scotland. A propoſal had been made for this purpoſe, by the earl of Nottingham, who, when the bill of abjuration paſſed in the houſe of peers, declared, that, though he differed from the majority, in many particulars relating to the bill, he was yet a friend to the deſign of it; and, in order to ſecure a Proteſtant ſucceſſion, he thought a union of the whole iſland was abſolutely neceſſary. He therefore voted for an addreſs to the king to diſſolve the parliament of Scotland, now ſitting, as the legality of it might be called in queſtion, on account of its having been originally a convention; and that he would ſummon a new parliament, which might treat about the union of the two kingdoms.

The king himſelf was ſo fully convinced of the utility and importance of this deſign, that, even when he was diſabled from going to the parliament, in perſon, he wrote a letter to the commons, expreſſing his eager deſire, that a treaty for that purpoſe might be ſet on foot, and earneſtly recommended that affair to the conſideration of the houſe. But the ferment, raiſed in Scotland by the diſappointment of the Darien-enterprize, was ſtill ſo great, that it was deemed hazardous to riſque

riſque the calling of a new parliament, at ſuch a critical conjuncture. The project was therefore poſtponed, and reſerved to a more favourable opportunity.

The king had already formed a ſcheme to reduce the exorbitant power of France. Before his return from Holland, he had concerted with his allies the operations of the enſuing campaign. He had engaged in a negotiation with the prince of D'Armſtadt, who aſſured him, that if he would beſiege and take Cadiz, the admiral of Caſtile, and ſeveral other grandees of Spain, would eſpouſe the cauſe of the Auſtrian family. The allies had likewiſe reſolved to inveſt Keyſerſwaert, which the elector of Cologne had delivered into the hands of the French: the elector of Hanover had promiſed to diſarm the princes of Wolfembuttle: the king of the Romans and prince Lewis of Baden undertook to reduce Landau; and the emperor propoſed to ſend a ſtrong reinforcement to prince Eugene in Italy: but William did not live to ſee theſe deſigns put into execution. His conſtitution was, by this time, almoſt exhauſted, though he endeavoured to conceal the effects of his malady, and to repair his health by exerciſe.

On the twenty-firſt day of February, in riding from Kenſington to Hampton Court, his horſe fell under him, and he himſelf was thrown

thrown upon the ground with ſuch violence, as produced a fracture in his right collar-bone. His attendants carried him to Hampton-Court, where the bone was ſet by Ronjat, his ſerjeant-ſurgeon. In the evening, he returned to Kenſington in his coach, and the two ends of the fractured bone having been disjoined by the jolting of the coach, were replaced under the inſpection of Bidloo, his phyſician.

He ſeemed to be in a fair way of recovering till the firſt day of March, when an inflamation appeared in his knee, accompanied with great pain and weakneſs. Next day he granted a commiſſion under the great ſeal to ſeveral peers for giving the royal aſſent to the bills, which had paſſed both houſes; namely, the act of attainder againſt the pretended prince of Wales, and another in favour of the Quakers, importing, that their ſolemn affirmation and declaration, ſhould be accepted inſtead of an oath in the uſual form.

On the ſeventh day of March the king was ſo well recovered of his lameneſs, that he took ſeveral turns in the gallery at Kenſington; but finding himſelf faint and weary, he ſat down upon a couch, were he fell aſleep, and was ſoon after ſeized with a ſhivering, which terminated in a fever and diarrhea.

He was attended by Sir Thomas Millington, Sir Richard Blackmore, Sir Theodore Colladon, the doctors Hutton, Hannes, Brown, Laurence, Bidloo, and others of the faculty, who administred to him several remedies, that gave him great relief.

He continued tolerably easy till the fifth, when the diarrhea returned with such violence, as seemed to reduce him to the last extremity. On the sixth he granted another commission passing the bills for the malt-tax, and the act of abjuration: and as he was now so weak that he could not write his name, a stamp was prepared for his signing the commission, which, according to form, must be subscribed by the king, in presence of the lord-keeper, and the clerks of the parliament. The same day the earl of Albemarle arriving from Holland, gave him an account of the situation of affairs on the continent; and could any thing of that nature have engaged his attention, he must have rejoiced at the favourable intelligence: but he received the information with unusual coldness, and said, *Je tire vers ma fin:* "I "draw towards my end."

In the evening he thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderness, saying, "I know, "that you and the other learned physicians "have done all that your art can do for my "relief:

"relief: but, finding all means ineffectual, "I ſubmit." He was attended by the archbiſhop of Canterbury, and the biſhop of Saliſbury; who on Sunday morning adminiſtred to him the ſacrament. His reaſon and all his ſenſes remained entire to his laſt moment: but he was ſo weak, that he could hardly expreſs himſelf, ſo as to be underſtood. The lords of the privy-council and ſeveral noblemen were in an adjoining apartment, and to ſome of them, who were admitted, he ſpoke a little with a faint and feeble voice. He thanked lord Overkirk for his long and faithful ſervices; and delivered to lord Albemarle the keys of his cloſet and ſcrutore, telling him, he knew what to do with them. He inquired for the earl of Portland; but, being ſpeechleſs before that nobleman arrived, he graſped his hand, and laid it to his heart with marks of the moſt tender affection. On the eighth day of March, about ſeven in the evening, he took Dr. Bidloo by the hand, and breathing with great difficulty, aſked him, if "this could laſt long?" the doctor anſwering in the negative, he aſked again, "how long?" the doctor replied "an "hour or an hour and a half; though you "may be ſnatched away in the twinkling of "an eye."

Soon after, while the doctor was feeling his pulse, the king took him by the hand, saying, "I do not die yet: hold me fast." About eight o'clock, he was seized with a rattling in his throat, when the recommendator prayer was said for him; and as it ended, he expired in the arms of Mr. Sewel, one of the pages of the back-stairs, in the fifty second year of his age and the fourteenth of his reign. The lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were in waiting, no sooner perceived the king was dead, than they ordered Ronjat to take off from his left arm a black ribbon, which tied next to his skin a gold ring, containing some hair of the late queen Mary: a proof of the tender regard, which he had for the memory of that princess.

The body being opened and embalmed, lay in state for some time at Kensington; and on the twelth day of April was interred in a vault of Henry the seventh's chapel in Westminster-Abbey. In the beginning of May, a will, which he had made in October 1695, and entrusted with monsieur Schuylemberg, was opened at the Hague. In this he had declared his cousin, prince Friso of Nassau, stadtholder of Friesland, his sole and universal heir, and appointed the States-general his executors. He took no notice

notice either of the king of Pruſſia, the prince of Naſſau Siegen, or the princeſs of Anhalt, who, all of them, pretended they had a right to the ſucceſſion. But, by a codicil annexed to the will, he bequeathed to the earl of Albemarle, the lordſhip of Breevert, and a legacy of two hundred thouſand gilders.

The character of William the third has ſhared the ſame fate, which commonly attends the characters of thoſe, who act in a high and elevated ſtation. By his friends, he has been repreſented as poſſeſſed of every virtue: by his enemies, as guilty of every vice. William neither merited the extravagant praiſes of the one, nor the invidious cenſures of the other; though the opinion of the former, will, upon a careful examination, appear to be much better founded, than that of the latter.

William, in his perſon, was of the middle ſtature: He had an aquiline noſe, ſparkling eyes, a large forehead, and a grave and ſolemn aſpect. From an immature birth, he derived a weak and feeble conſtitution; but by the force of temperance and exerciſe, he was able to undergo greater fatigues in the field, and greater application in the cabinet, than many princes, bleſſed with ſuperior natural advantages, but leſs virtuous and regu-

lar in their conduct, have been able to endure. Poſſeſſed of a ſtrong and tenacious memory, he hardly ever forgot a circumſtance, that was worth the remembering; and he was well qualified to improve, to the regulation of his own conduct, every incident in ancient or modern hiſtory. Endued rather with a ſound judgment than a lively imagination, his ſchemes were always formed with uncommon ability; and, as a natural conſequence, though they were ſeldom crowned with remarkable ſucceſs, they never proved entirely ineffectual: a fate, which frequently attends the deſigns of thoſe, who enjoy a greater ſhare of the latter, than the former quality.

He was always placed in the moſt critical and delicate ſituations; and yet, by his ſingular prudence, he behaved, for the moſt part, in ſuch a manner, as would have intitled any other perſon, even acting in the moſt common circumſtances, to the character of wiſdom and ſagacity. But, though ſuch was generally his condition, from neceſſity, he never threw himſelf, voluntarily, into any great or inſuperable difficulties; and if, by ſome unforeſeen and unavoidable accident, he was, at any time, involved in ſuch perplexities, he never failed to extricate him-

himſelf with ſuch dexterity, as raiſed his character higher in the eſtimation of the world.* Virtuous and regular in his own conduct,

* The king's ſagacity and prudence, even in his more early years, will evidently appear from the following anecdote; which, for that reaſon, it may not be improper to relate. De Wit, ſuſpecting the deſigns of the prince's friends, who might probably endeavour to advance him to the ſtadtholderſhip, had taken him under his own care and tuition; and, in order the more narrowly to watch his motions, had removed all his old ſervants, and ſupplied their places with thoſe in whom he could confide. One young man only, who had conſtantly attended him from his childhood, and was now his valet-de chambre, was, at the earneſt requeſt of the prince, permitted to continue in his ſervice. De Wit, however, in order to ſecure even this quarter, took care to engage the valet in his intereſt. The prince maintained a conſtant, but ſecret correſpondence with the Engliſh miniſters, in matters that related to his own concerns: and on the receipt of any letters from that court, he uſually put them into his waiſtcoat pocket. Theſe letters, the valet, when his highneſs was in bed, took out of his pocket, copied them for the penſionary, and carefully replaced the originals.

This practice was continued for ſome time, till at laſt De Wit, talking to the prince upon public affairs, and warning him againſt intrigues inconſiſtent with the government of the ſtates, and dangerous to his highneſs, let fall ſome expreſſions from which the prince could eaſily judge that he had ſeen his ſecret letters. He took no notice of what had happened; but, when he went

to

conduct, he endeavoured to recommend the practice of morality to all his courtiers and dependants; but his example had too little influence on the manners of men, corrupted by the licence of a former reign, and who ſtill continued to indulge themſelves in every kind of vice and debauchery.

Impreſſed with a deep ſenſe of the awful truths of religion, he acted up, as near as the frailty of human nature will commonly permit, to the true ſpirit of chriſtianity; and, though educated in the principles of the Preſbyterian party, he had a charitable indulgence for all who differed from him in matters of opinion: nothing

to bed, pretending to be aſleep, he perceived the perfidious operation of his valet, without ſeeming in the leaſt to obſerve it. He continued to conceal the diſcovery; but took care, in his ſubſequent letters to England, to write in ſuch a manner, and to receive ſuch anſwers for the treacherous uſe of his ſervant, and the information of De Wit, as, by degrees, removed the ſuſpicions of that ſtateſman, and ever after kept him in a falſe ſecurity concerning the intentions and deſigns of the prince. When William had overcome all his difficulties, and was advanced to the office of ſtadtholder, he very coolly let his valet know, how effectually he had ſerved, while he intended to betray him. After this confounding explanation, he diſmiſſed him from his ſervice; but, that the poor fellow might not forfeit the merit of his long and faithful ſervices, by one act of treachery, he beſtowed upon him a place of about a hundred a year at Breda.

nothing gave him greater uneaſineſs, than the unhappy diviſions which prevail among the ſeveral denominations of Proteſtants; nor was there any thing, which he more earneſtly deſired, than to unite them all in one general and brotherly communion.

But what ſeems chiefly to have diſtinguiſhed his character, and to have conſtituted his ruling and predominant paſſion, was a ſincere regard to the natural rights and liberties of mankind. Animated by this godlike ardour, he bravely undertook, and ſucceſsfully accompliſhed, even in his moſt tender years, the delivery of his native country, when it was not only threatened with immediate ſubjection, but was almoſt involved in utter ruin and deſtruction. Prompted by the ſame generous principle, he reſcued the inhabitants of this iſland from the dreadful calamity of civil and religious ſlavery, to which, without his timely aſſiſtance, they would, in all probability, have been finally reduced. Influenced by the like benevolent ſpirit, he commenced the champion of the general liberties of Europe, which he not only preſerved from impending ruin, but eſtabliſhed upon a firm and ſolid foundation. He checked the growing power of the French monarchy; and, though he could not humble it to ſuch a degree, as he wiſhed

wiſhed and expected, he yet reſtrained it within ſuch limits, and formed ſuch a mighty confederacy againſt it, as rendered it, at that time, and, it is to be hoped, will always render it, unable to endanger the freedom and independency of Chriſtendom.

It muſt be acknowledged, however, that with all his virtues, William was not free from vices, or, more properly ſpeaking, from imperfections: for ſcarce any of his faults roſe to that pitch, as to merit the appellation of vices. Naturally incapable of bearing contradiction, though by no means fond of flattery, he was too little inclined to hearken to the advice of thoſe, who were moſt able and willing to ſerve him; and too apt to throw himſelf into the arms of ſuch, as could never be reconciled to his perſon or government. To this was owing his imprudent diſſolution of the convention-parliament, from whom he received his crown and dignity; and his convocation of another of a very different ſpirit, who would willingly have ſtripped him of his ſovereign authority, and effectually thwarted him in all his public meaſures. To this muſt be aſcribed his impolitic, and ſeemingly ungrateful conduct, in deſerting the Whigs, his only true and ſteady friends, and his truſting

ing to the Tories, his inveterate and implacable enemies.

Accuſtomed, in his youth, from motives of prudence, to caution and reſerve, he contracted ſuch a habit of ſilence and taciturnity, as he could not lay aſide, when it was not only no longer neceſſary, but even inconvenient. However agreeable this deportment to the grave and ſolemn character of the Dutch, it was extremely diſagreable to the more frank and open diſpoſition of the Engliſh; and prevented the king from engaging, ſo eaſily and ſo univerſally as he might otherwiſe have done, the good will and affection of his ſubjects. His enemies repreſented it as the effect of pride; and even his friends, were diſguſted with a manner, which kept them always in a total ignorance, whether his majeſty was in a good or a bad humour.

Endued with a ſenſible and tender heart, he was too prone to form impreſſions of people from ſlight and trivial circumſtances; and poſſeſſed of a ſerious and ſedate temper, he could not ſo eaſily lay them aſide even when he ſaw that they were ill-founded; a character, which, however unaccountable, is more common in the world, than is generally imagined. Hence it was, that having once conceived an averſion to the Whigs, from

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the oppoſition they gave him in ſome favourite points; and an affection for the Tories, from the complaiſance they diſcovered, at leaſt in their words, if not in their actions: and though he was afterwards convinced of the good intentions of the former, and the treacherous deſigns of the latter, he could never be perſuaded to alter his conduct. He could never reſolve to commit himſelf into the hands of thoſe, who, however firmly attached to his perſon and government, had once treated him with ſuch freedom and diſreſpect; nor to withdraw his confidence from men, who, though harbouring againſt him an implacable rancour, profeſſed to ſerve him with ſuch zeal and fidelity. He eſteemed and reſpected the Whigs, but, at the ſame time, he dreaded them, and excluded them from his councils: he ſuſpected the Tories; he was even convinced of their treachery: yet he ſtill ſeemed to love them, and honoured them with his confidence.

Nevertheleſs, it muſt be acknowledged, that, after making all proper allowance for his faults, he was one of the greateſt and moſt diſtinguiſhed princes, that ever ſat upon the Engliſh throne. To him the natives of this iſland, and, indeed, the ſubjects of all the free ſtates of Europe, are, in a great meaſure, indebted for the quiet enjoyment

joyment of their civil and religious liberties. To him the intellectual world owes the freedom, which they now poſſeſs, of debating all ſubjects, of whatever nature, and of avowing their ſentiments without fear of puniſhment. Henry the fourth of France, and queen Elizabeth, are commonly produced as ſhining examples of ſuperior princely merit. That king William equalled, and even excelled them in the real qualities of a great and good governor, might be eaſily demonſtrated. On a candid compariſon, it would appear, that his virtues and accompliſhments were greater than theirs, and his failings and imperfections leſs numerous and much more excuſable.

ANNE. A. D. 1702.

AT the death of king William, the crown devolved upon the princeſs Anne of Denmark, ſecond daughter of the late king James. The firſt act of her reign, was to convene the privy-council, to whom ſhe declared, that ſhe was deeply ſenſible of the great loſs, which the nation had ſuſtained, in the death of his late majeſty, and of the heavy weight and burden, which it brought upon herſelf in particular: that, influenced however, by a ſincere regard to the religion and liberties of her country, nothing ſhould be wanting on her part to preſerve them inviolable; to maintain the ſucceſſion in the Proteſtant line, and the government in church and ſtate, as by law eſtabliſhed: and that it was her firm reſolution to carry on the preparations for oppoſing the exorbitant power of France, and

Q. ANNE.

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and to assure her allies, that she would pursue the true interest of England, together with that of the confederates, for the support of the common cause.

The members of the privy-council having taken the oaths, she ordered a proclamation to be published, signifying her pleasure, that all persons in offices of authority or government at the decease of the late king, should so continue till farther directions. As, by an act passed in the late reign, the parliament continued sitting even after the king's death, both houses met immediately, and unanimously voted an address of condolence and congratulation; and in the afternoon, the queen was proclaimed.

The lords declared, that they firmly resolved to maintain her undoubted right and title, and the succession in the Protestant line, against all her enemies whatsoever: that their great loss was no otherwise to be repaired, than by a vigorous adherence to her majesty, and her allies, in prosecution of those measures already concerted to reduce the exorbitant power of France: and that they hoped her majesty, for the encouragement of her allies, would, with all convenient speed, assure them of her sincere intention to perform the alliances which were

already concluded, and which they would exert their utmoſt endeavours in order to enable her to maintain.

The commons obſerved, that they were fully determined to aſſiſt and ſupport her on that throne, where God had placed her, in ſpite of the endeavours of the friends and abettors of the pretended prince of Wales: and that, in an entire confidence of her majeſty's reſolution to adhere to the alliances, which had lately been contracted for preſerving the general liberties of Europe, they would effectually provide for the public credit of the nation.

Theſe addreſſes were graciouſly received by the queen, who, on the eleventh day of March, went to the houſe of peers, with the uſual ſolemnity, where ſhe delivered her firſt ſpeech to the parliament. She ſaid, ſhe was not ignorant of the delicate ſituation, in which ſhe was placed, by ſucceeding ſo immediately to a king, who was the great ſupport, not only of theſe kingdoms, but likewiſe of all Europe: that the preſent ſituation of affairs required the greateſt application and diſpatch: that ſhe was glad to perceive, by their ſeveral addreſſes, their unanimous concurrence with her opinion, that too much could not be done for the encouragement of the allies, in humbling the power of France: that

that ſhe hoped they would think of ſome proper method for effecting an union between England and Scotland; an object which had been ſo lately recommended to their conſideration, and in which the peace and ſecurity of both kingdoms were ſo deeply concerned: that ſhe needed not remind them, that the revenue for defraying the expences of the civil government, was expired; and ſhe relied on their affection for ſupplying it in ſuch a manner as ſhould be moſt ſuitable to the honour and dignity of the crown: that ſhe ſhould always endeavour, by a careful and diligent adminiſtration for the good of her ſubjects, to make them the beſt returns in her power, for the duty and affection they had expreſſed to her perſon and government: that, as ſhe knew her own heart to be entirely Engliſh, ſhe could very ſincerely aſſure them, that there was not any thing they could expect or deſire from her, which ſhe ſhould not always be ready to do for the happineſs and proſperity of England: and that they ſhould always find her a ſtrict and religious obſerver of her word.

There were two expreſſions in this ſpeech, that were not ſo well reliſhed, The firſt was, the queen's ſaying, "that her heart was entirely Engliſh." By this, ſhe was ſuppoſed to reflect on the character of the late

king, who was generally believed to have a greater affection for the Dutch than the Engliſh, and to prefer the intereſt of the former to that of the latter. Conſidering the terms on which ſhe had lived with his majeſty, during the greateſt part of his reign, it will not be thought ſtrange that ſhe had contracted ſome prejudices againſt him: but it was deemed inconſiſtent with the dignity of a queen of England, to remember or reſent the injuries of a princeſs of Denmark.

The other exceptionable expreſſion, was, "that they ſhould always find her a ſtrict "and religious obſerver of her word." The ſame promiſe had been made by her father, in his firſt ſpeech; and, as it was ſuppoſed that he never intended to perform, and actually broke it, it was invidiouſly inſinuated, that the queen might be guilty of the ſame inſincerity, and, perhaps, in the end, of the ſame failure. The former expreſſion muſt have been the effect of deſign, and therefore can by no means be juſtified. The latter might be owing to inattention, and, perhaps, proceeded from the ſincerity rather than the inſincerity of her heart.

The reflections, however, that were made upon both, were confined to a few individuals: the parliament either forgot, or reſolved to overlook them. They thanked her majeſty

for

for her gracious ſpeech; expreſſed their ſatisfaction with the aſſurances ſhe had given, that ſhe would concur with her allies in preſerving the independence of England and the general liberties of Europe; and they even declared that they deemed the engagement of her ſacred word, as a ſufficient ſecurity for the performance of her promiſe. An addreſs of condolence and congratulation was preſented by the archbiſhop of Canterbury and clergy of London, the biſhop of the metropolis being at that time indiſpoſed. The ſame compliment was paid by the diſſenters in and about London, and by all the counties, cities, towns, and corporations of England.

In theſe addreſſes a great diverſity of ſtile, as well as ſentiment, was obſerved. Moſt of them mentioned the late king with the higheſt reſpect and gratitude: ſome named him very coldly: others took no notice of him, nor of his death, and ſimply congratulated the queen's acceſſion to the crown: and a few had the inſolence to throw reflections on the king's memory, and to drop hints, that he had treated the queen with harſhneſs and ſeverity. After ſo great a revolution, as had lately happened in England, it is no wonder if that the minds of men ſhould be differently affected: but it is really

really ſtrange that any men ſhould have had the impudence to avow, in ſo public a manner, their hatred to the late king and their diſaffection to the government. The queen behaved with great policy and prudence. To ſome of the addreſſers ſhe replied in a gracious manner: to others ſhe expreſſed herſelf in general terms: to ſome ſhe ſaid nothing: and ſome anſwers were aſcribed to her, which ſhe publickly diſowned.

On the firſt news of the king's death, the Dutch were filled with terror and conſternation. The States immediately aſſembled, and for ſome time gazed at each other in ſilent fear and aſtoniſhment. Conſcious of the irreparable loſs they had ſuffered, and dreading the fatal calamities, that hung over their country, they univerſally ſunk into deſpair and deſpondence: but recovering ſoon from their unmanly lethargy, they began to arouſe their native ſpirit, and to entertain more noble and generous ſentiments.

They embraced each other with the moſt ſincere cordiality, and bound themſelves by the moſt ſacred vows to expend the laſt drop of their blood in defence of their country. They ſat up during the great part of the night, and diſpatched letters to the cities and provinces, informing them of this unfortunate event, and exhorting them to

union

union and perſeverance. The expreſs from England having brought the queen's ſpeech to her privy-council, they cauſed it to be tranſlated into French and Dutch, and diſperſed every where for the encouragement of the people. Next day penſionary Fagel imparted to the States of Holland a letter, which he had received from the earl of Marlborough, containing aſſurances, in the queen's name, of union and aſſiſtance. Thus animated, the States of Holland went in a body to the aſſembly of the States general, and declared their reſolution to adhere to the alliances which had lately been contracted, and to ſacrifice their lives and fortunes, rather than abandon their religion and liberty. The city of Amſterdam, as a more particular mark of their zeal, offered, beſides their own proportion, to advance money to thoſe provinces, who might otherwiſe be unable to furniſh their quotas.

In a few days, queen Anne wrote a letter to the States, confirming her former aſſurances: but what chiefly contributed to inſpirit their reſolutions was the arrival of the earl of Marlborough, whom her majeſty had declared captain-general of her forces both at home and abroad, and appointed her ambaſſador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States-general. He aſſured them, that

that the queen his miſtreſs, would faithfully adhere to the alliances, which had been concluded by the late king, and do every thing that was neceſſary for preſerving the common liberties of Europe.

This ſpeech was anſwered by Dyckvelt, preſident of the week, who, in the name of the States, expreſſed their great affliction for the death of the late king; their congratulation on her majeſty's acceſſion to the throne; their hearty thanks for the aſſurances of her friendſhip; their firm reſolution to concur with her in her vigorous proſecution of the common intereſt; and their entire ſatisfaction with his excellency's perſon, not only on account of the queen's choice, and of the late king William, but likewiſe for his own perſonal merit. It was remarked, that when the preſident mentioned the late king, the tear ſtarted in his eye.

The ſorrow occaſioned by king William's death in England and Holland, could only be exceeded by the joy which it produced at Paris and Rome. The French were tranſported with the intelligence, and were ſo much afraid, that it would not prove true, that they impriſoned the perſon, who firſt brought it to Calais, till his information was confirmed. At Rome the joy of the people roſe almoſt to frenzy, and broke out

in ſuch indecent raptures, that cardinal Grimani, the Imperial miniſter, complained of them to the pope, as an inſult on his maſter the emperor, who was William's friend, confederate, and ally.

Lewis, however, was ſoon convinced that he would not derive from this event, ſo much advantage as he fondly expected; and he therefore reſolved to have recourſe to his former method of cabal and intrigue. He accordingly diſpatched credentials to de Barre, whom the count d'Avaux had left at the Hague, to manage the affairs of France, together with inſtructions to renew the negociation with the States, in hopes of detaching them from the grand alliance. This miniſter preſented an inſolent and ſcurrilous memorial, implying ſevere reflections on king William and the paſt conduct of the Dutch, and inſinuating, that now they had recovered their liberty, the court of France hoped they would conſult their true intereſt.

The count de Goes, envoy from the emperor, animadverted on theſe expreſſions in another memorial, which was likewiſe publiſhed: and the States returned a public anſwer to the ſame remonſtrance, expreſſing their reſentment at the inſolence of ſuch inſinuations, and their veneration for the late ſtadtholder. The earl of Marlborough ſuc-

ceeded

ceeded in every part of his negociation. He confirmed the Dutch in their former reſolutions: he concerted the operations of the enſuing campaign: he agreed with the States-General and the Imperial miniſter, that war ſhould be declared againſt France, on the ſame day, at Vienna, London, and the Hague: and, having gained the entire confidence of thoſe who governed the United Provinces, he embarked for England on the third day of April.

Mean while, the Engliſh parliament was employed in conſidering the ſeveral affairs, which the queen had recommended from the throne. They had, by this time, ſettled the civil liſt upon her for life; and when the bill received the royal aſſent, ſhe aſſured them, that one hundred thouſand pounds of this revenue, ſhould be applied to the public ſervice of the current year: an act of generoſity, which contributed greatly to endear her to her ſubjects. On the twenty-fourth day of March, the oath of abjuration was taken by the ſpeaker and members, none of the Tories refuſing compliance; though with what ſincerity they acted upon this occaſion, was but too evident by their ſubſequent conduct.

The queen had always, from her early youth, entertained a ſtrong affection for this party,

party, and an averſion to the Whigs. She had been taught to regard the former as the true friends of the church and monarchy, and the latter as, all of them, Preſbyterians and republicans.

Whether ſhe had received theſe prejudices from thoſe who were entruſted with her education, or from ſuch as were honoured with her confidence: whether in her heart ſhe condemned, though by her actions ſhe ſeemed to approve the Revolution, which had been chiefly effected by the Whigs: whether ſhe thought herſelf under obligations to the Tories, on account of the ſtrenuous efforts which they had made in her favour, by procuring her, in the late reign, an independent ſettlement; though, it is notorious, that, in that affair, they were actuated rather by an hatred to the king, than a regard for her: whether all, or any of theſe, were the cauſe, certain it is, ſhe had conceived ſuch an affection for that party, that, in the choice of her miniſters, and the diſpoſal of places, ſhe intruſted them almoſt with the ſole direction of her councils, and the whole adminiſtration of the civil government.

The earl of Rocheſter was continued lord lieutenant of Ireland, and enjoyed a great ſhare of her majeſty's confidence: the privy-ſeal was committed to the marquis of Nor-

manby: * the earl of Nottingham and Sir Charles Hedges were declared ſecretaries of ſtate: the earl of Jerſey was appointed chamberlain of the houſhold, the earl of Bradford, treaſurer, Peregrine Bertie, vice-chamberlain, Sir Edward Seymour, comptroller of the houſhold, and Sir John Leviſon Gower, chancellor of the dutchy of Lancaſter. The earl of Abingdon, viſcount Weymouth, and lords Dartmouth, Muſgrave, Greenvil, Howe, Harcourt, and others, who, during the late reign, had diſcovered the moſt violent and implacable hatred to the government, were now ſworn of the privy-council; while the names of the lord Somers and Halliſax, and others attached to revolution-principles, were excluded from the liſt. The earl of Marlborough, it is true, and lord Godolphin were likewiſe admitted into her majeſty's confidence; but it is equally true, that both theſe noblemen were ſuppoſed to be of the Toryparty; otherwiſe, in all probability, they would never have been honoured with that diſtinction. The truth is, they had both been educated in a firm belief, that the Tories

* It is ſaid that this nobleman, when earl of Mulgrave, made his addreſſes to the queen, then princeſs Anne; and though his addreſſes were checked the moment they were diſcovered, yet ſhe always retained a regard for him.

ties weret he beſt friends of their country; nor were they perfectly cured of that dangerous deluſion, but by dear-bought experience. Godolphin, however, declined accepting the office of treaſurer, until he was overcome by the importunities of Marlborough, to whoſe eldeſt daughter his ſon was married. This nobleman refuſed to command the armies abroad, unleſs the treaſury ſhould be put into the hands of Godolphin, on whoſe punctuality, in point of remittances, he knew he could depend; and the nation was, at that time, ſo eager for a war with France, that, had the Tories preſumed to oppoſe that meaſure, the queen, with all her authority, would not have been able to continue them in power.

George, prince of Denmark, was inveſted with the title of generaliſſimo of all the queen's forces by ſea and land; and afterwards created lord high admiral: the earl of Pembroke, who had for ſome time enjoyed that office, being diſmiſſed, with the offer of a penſion, which, though his circumſtances ſeemed to require it, he generouſly refuſed. The prince, as admiral, was aſſiſted by a council compoſed of Sir George Rooke, Sir David Mitchell, George Churchill, and Richard Hill. As this court was entirely new, it could not properly be conſtituted without

the conſent of parliament: nevertheleſs, from reſpect to the queen, no objection was made to it, and it was ſuffered to act without queſtion.

Though the Tories had promiſed to gratify the inclinations of the people, by adhering to the treaties which had been lately concluded, it ſoon appeared, that the more violent among them could not ſo eaſily overcome their prejudices. A motion having been made in council to declare war againſt France and Spain, the earl of Rocheſter alledged, that ſuch a ſtep would probably be attended with the moſt dangerous conſequences, and that it was ſafer for the Engliſh to act only as auxiliaries. The earl of Marlborough, on the other hand, maintained, that the honour of the nation was concerned to fulfil the late king's engagements; and that France could never be reduced within due bounds, unleſs the Engliſh would enter, as principals, into the quarrel. This opinion was ſupported by the dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire, the earl of Pembroke and others; and the Tories, conſcious that nothing leſs would ſatisfy the nation, were, at laſt, obliged to adopt the ſame ſentiments. The queen accordingly reſolved to declare war, and communicated her intention to the houſe of commons, by whom it was approved,

and

and on the fourth day of May, the declaration was ſolemnly publiſhed.

In this declaration, the king of France was accuſed of having unjuſtly ſeized a great part of the Spaniſh dominions; of having formed a deſign to invade the liberties of Europe; of obſtructing the freedom of navigation and commerce; and of having offered an unpardonable inſult to the queen and her throne, by preſuming to declare the pretended prince of Wales, king of England, Scotland, and Ireland.

The French king was equally incenſed and confounded at the three declarations of the emperor, England, and the States-general, which were publiſhed on the ſame day. When his miniſter, De Torcy, recited them in his hearing, he made no complaint of the emperor; conſcious, perhaps, of the flagrant injury which he had done to the Auſtrian family. He reflected ſeverely upon the queen of England for reſenting his conduct with regard to the pretended prince of Wales: but what filled him with the higheſt indignation was the declaration of the States-general. Having taken it in his hand, and glanced it over, he threw it on the table in a tranſport of anger; and with a vanity truly characteriſtical of himſelf and his nation, ſaid, "that meſſieurs the Dutch

" merchants ſhould one day repent of their " inſolence and preſumption, in declaring " war againſt ſo great a monarch." It may be affirmed however, that with all his affectation of ſuperior dignity, meſſieurs the Dutch merchants (as he was pleaſed to call them) are, in the judgment of every thinking perſon, more reputable than Lewis and his ſubjects; inaſmuch as thoſe who contribute to the real neceſſities and conveniencies of life, are more the objects of eſteem, than ſuch as are employed in furniſhing the world with fopperies and faſhions.

Notwithſtanding the mighty threats of Lewis, he was not ready to publiſh his declaration of war till the third day of July. The violent Tories in the lower houſe perceiving, that every thing was conducted with vigour and diſpatch, reſolved to ſtart ſome ſubject which might, if not defeat, at leaſt retard the proſecution of the war. With this view they moved for an addreſs, that no perſon, who was not a native of England, Scotland, or Ireland, or at leaſt of Engliſh parents, unleſs they were formerly on half-pay, ſhould be an officer in her majeſty's new-raiſed forces.

This motion was levelled directly againſt the French Proteſtant officers, who had had a capital ſhare in gaining the battle of the Boyne,

Boyne, and who, by their important ſervice on that occaſion, had deſerved too well of the preſent eſtabliſhment, not to have incurred the hatred of Jacobites. It was likewiſe ſuppoſed to reflect obliquely on the memory of the late king, who was commonly accuſed of an immoderate attachment to foreigners.

The motion, however, was at once ſilenced by the pertinent queſtion of a particular member. "I ſhould be glad," ſaid he, "if the gentlemen, who made the motion, would be ſo good as to explain "their meaning. If they propoſe to exclude all foreigners, what will become, "not only of duke Schomberg, upon whoſe "father the parliament thought fit to beſtow a gratuity of one hundred thouſand "pounds, as a reward for his ſervices in "effecting the Revolution, but alſo of his "royal highneſs prince George of Denmark, whom the queen has lately appointed generaliſſimo?" This remark was ſo well pointed, that the Tories dropped their motion with ſhame and confuſion.

As the queen, in her ſpeech, had recommended an union between England and Scotland, a bill was now introduced, impowering her majeſty to name commiſſioners to treat with the Scots upon that ſubject.

The

The Tories immediately took the alarm. They knew, that, ſhould ever their deſigns in favour of the pretended prince of Wales ſucceed, the firſt attempt muſt be made in Scotland; and they were ſenſible, that, by the union of the two kingdoms, all their hopes would be entirely blaſted. They therefore reſolved to exert their utmoſt endeavours in order to defeat the bill. Conſcious, however, that nothing, graced with the leaſt appearance of argument, could be advanced againſt it, they were obliged to have recourſe to ſatire and invective.

They accordingly threw out a great number of ſcurilous and indecent reflections on the Scots; not from any hatred which they bore to that people, but in hopes of enraging them to ſuch a degree, as to render them averſe to the intended union. The meaſure, however, was ſo plainly conducive to the intereſt of England, and the ſupport of the preſent government, that, notwithſtanding all their endeavours to defeat it, the bill paſſed through both houſes, and at laſt received the royal aſſent.

The Jacobites (for the violent Tories were almoſt univerſally of that party) being thus diſappointed in their favourite project, began to vent their ſpleen in a leſs pernicious indeed, but, at the ſame time, more unge-

ungenerous attempt. This was an endeavour to vilify the character of the late king, whoſe memory they treated with the moſt groſs and indecent ſcurrility.*

Not content with theſe inſults, they endeavoured to blaſt his reputation by accuſing him of a deſign to exclude the princeſs Anne from the throne, and to introduce the elector of Hanover as his own immediate ſucceſſor. They even pretended that ſome papers to this effect were found in his ſtrong box immediately after his death. This ſtory they had propagated with ſuch unwearied zeal and induſtry, that it had actually gained credit in ſome of the more diſtant counties; as appeared from the addreſs of the city of Norwich, which congratulated her majeſty's peaceable acceſſion to the throne, "notwithſtanding the malicious deſigns "and contrivances uſed to defeat her un-"doubted right."

Had the friends of the Revolution remained ſilent on this occaſion they had been juſtly

* As a ſpecimen of their refined wit, it may not be improper to remark, that they drank to the health of ſorrel, meaning the horſe that fell with his majeſty; and under the appellation of the little gentleman in velvet, toaſted the mole that raiſed the hill, over which the horſe had ſtumbled. It is hard to ſay, whether their dulneſs was more the object of contempt, or their malice of deteſtation.

ly chargeable, not only with want of gratitude but even with want of humanity, and common juſtice. Several peers inſiſted, that a proper ſcrutiny ſhould be made into the matter; and after a ſtrict and ſcrupulous ſearch, it evidently appeared, that there was no foundation for the ſtory, but the whole was a fiction of the Jacobites. They therefore declared the report to be a villainous attempt to diſhonor the late king's memory; and beſought her majeſty to cauſe the authors or publiſhers of ſuch a report to be proſecuted by the attorney-general.

The Jacobites had not barely the impudence to invent theſe reports; they went a ſtep farther: they were no ſooner detected, than they had the additional impudence to deny that any ſuch reports had ever been propagated. But here they were entangled in their own ſnare. They hoped, by publiſhing the ſtory in print, the more effectually to accompliſh their purpoſe; and this circumſtance now roſe in judgment againſt them. The ſtory was ſolemnly aſſerted in ſeveral pamphlets, written by the doctors Drake and Davenant, two of their literary champions.

The lords therefore paſſed their cenſures on theſe pamphlets, and ordered the authors to be proſecuted; though apologies were made for

for them by the marquis of Normanby and the earl of Nottingham, who, in hopes of diverting the attention of the houſe, propoſed inquiry into ſome other pamphlets, in which the murder of king Charles was juſtified. Something indeed of that nature had been publiſhed; but, it was in anſwer to a ſermon, which Dr. Binkes had preached in the beginning of the year before the convocation; and in which, after drawing a parallel between the ſufferings of Chriſt, and thoſe of king Charles, he had, in ſeveral expreſſions, more demonſtrative of his loyalty than religion, given the preference to the latter.

The buſineſs of the ſeſſion being finiſhed on the twenty-fifth day of May, the queen went to the houſe of peers, and after giving her aſſent to ſeveral public and private bills, prorogued the parliament to the ſeventh day day of July.*

Soon

* The acts paſſed in this ſeſſion were the following: an act obliging the Jews to maintain and provide for their Proteſtant children. By this act if any Jewiſh parent, with a view to compel his Proteſtant child to change his religion, ſhould refuſe ſuch a child a maintenance, ſuitable to the ability of the parent, and the age and education of the child, the lord chancellor was impowered to make ſuch an order for the mainteance of the child, as to him ſhould ſeem moſt proper

Soon after, the queen, in conſequence of the power given her by acts of parliament of both kingdoms, appointed commiſſioners * for treating of an union between England and Scotland. On the twenty-ſecond day of October, the commiſſioners met for the firſt time,

per and convenient. An act for continuing the impriſonment of Counter and other conſpirators againſt king William. An act for the relief of the Proteſtant purchaſers of the forfeited eſtates in Ireland. An act for enlarging the time for taking the oath of abjuration. By this act it was declared treaſon for any one to attempt the hindering any perſon, who was or ſhould be next in ſucceſſion, according to the act of ſettlement, from ſucceeding to the crown, on the death of her majeſty.

* The Engliſh commiſſioners were, the archbiſhop of Canterbury, the lord-keeper Wright, the dukes of Somerſet and Devonſhire, the marquis of Normanby, the earls of Pembroke, Jerſey, Burlington, Nottingham, Rocheſter, Marlborough, and Scarborough, the biſhop of London, Sir Charles Hedges, chief-juſtice Holt, chief-juſtice Trevor, Sir John Leviſon Gower, Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave, Sir John Cook, Robert Harley, Charles Godolphin, Samuel Clarke, and Stephen Waller.

The Scotch commiſſiones were, the dukes of Queenſberry and Argyle, the marquiſſes of Annandale and Lothian, the earls of Seafield, Hyndford, and Leven, the viſcounts Tarbat and Stair, the lords Galloway and Boyle, Sir James Stuart, Sir George Maxwell, Sir James Smollet, Sir Alexander Douglas. Sir David Dalrymple, Sir Patrick Johnſton, Mr. Montgomery, Mr. Scrimger, and the provoſt of Aberdeen.

time, at the Cock-pit, where, after both commiſſions had been read, the lord-keeper Wright made a ſhort ſpeech on the ſubject of their meeting, and was anſwered by the duke of Queenſberry.

On the twentieth of the next month, they adjuſted the preliminaries, importing, that nothing agreed on among themſelves ſhould be binding, except it be ratified by her majeſty, and the reſpective parliaments of both nations; and that, unleſs all the heads propoſed for the treaty were agreed to, no particular thing agreed to ſhall be binding. The lord-keeper then propoſed, on the part of the Engliſh, that the two kingdoms ſhould be inſeparably united into one monarchy, under her majeſty, her heirs and ſucceſſors, and under the ſame limitations, according to the act of ſettlement. This propoſal was readily admitted; and the queen, willing to quicken their deliberations, came to the aſſembly, on the fourteenth of December, and made them a ſpeech.

In a few days, the Scottiſh commiſſioners delivered ſix propoſitions to the following effect: that there ſhould be a free trade between the two kingdoms without diſtinction: that both ſhould be liable to equal impoſitions for exports and imports; and that books of rates ſhould be adjuſted for both: that the

ſubjects and ſhipping of both kingdoms ſhould have an equal freedom of trading to the plantations, and be under the ſame regulations: that the act of navigation, and all others in both kingdoms, inconſiſtent with theſe propoſals, ſhould be repealed: that neither of the kingdoms ſhould be burthened with the debts contracted by the other before the Union; and that the equality of impoſitions, mentioned in the ſecond propoſal, ſhould be underſtood with an exception of the impoſitions laid on and appropriated by the Engliſh parliament, for the payment of their debts; or, if an equality of impoſition on trade ſhould appear neceſſary, that Scotland ſhould receive an equivalent: and that theſe propoſals ſhould be without prejudice to the companies and manufactures of either kingdom, which ſhould be referred to the farther conſideration and progreſs of the treaty. To the firſt of theſe propoſals, the Engliſh commiſſioners agreed, with an exception to wool and ſheep-fells. To the ſecond they propoſed an addition, importing, that the impoſition and prohibition, as to exports and imports, ſhould be the ſame in both kingdoms. On the third, they obſerved, that the plantation trade was the property of England, and of ſuch conſequence, as not to be communicated, till other

parti-

particulars, which might be neceſſary for the Union, ſhould be farther ſettled; and that in this article, proviſion ſhould be made, that Scotchmen ſhould be liable to be impreſſed in time of war for her majeſty's ſervice. To the fourth, they anſwered, that the act of navigation ſhould be accommodated to the Union. On the fifth they remarked, that, in their opinion, it contradicted the ſecond; that there was no duty on trade, except ſome of the funds of the civil government, but what was appropriated to pay the public debts; that though theſe debts were contracted by a long war, undertaken more particularly for the preſervation of England, and her dependent dominions, yet had Scotland taſted the benefit of that war, by the oppoſition made to the power and growth of the French monarchy; and that Scotland would be abundantly compenſated for that burden by a complete union, which could not be eſtabliſhed with equality, unleſs there was the ſame duty in both kingdoms on foreign and home-conſumption: but how the money, ariſing from thence in Scotland, ſhould be applied, or what equivalent the Scots ſhould receive in return, might be ſettled, when they came to conſider the proportion, which Scotland ſhould bear of the public burden for the ſupport of the govern-

ment in peace and war. To theſixth propoſal, they ſaid, they could give no anſwer, until it was farther explained. This, it ſeems, related to the rights and privileges of their company trading to Africa and the Indies; but was a ſubject attended with ſuch difficulties as could not be ſurmounted: ſo that no farther progreſs was made in the commiſſion.

By this time the campaign had been opened in Germany, and proved very favourable to the allies. The old duke of Zell, and his nephew, the elector of Brunſwick, had ſurpriſed the dukes of Wolfembuttle and Saxe-Gotha, whom they compelled to renounce their engagements with France, and concur in the common councils of the empire. Keyſerſwaert had been reduced after a deſperate reſiſtance, by the prince of Naſſau Saarbrugh, mareſchal du camp to the emperor. The earl of Athlone, who commanded the Dutch troops, had defeated the deſign, which the French had formed, of ſurpriſing Nimeguen. General Coehorn, at the head of a ſtrong detachment, had entered Flanders, demoliſhed the French lines between the forts of Donat and Iſabella, and laid the Chatellanie of Bruges under contribution. And the prince of Ba-

Badennith had inveſted Landau, and taken it by aſſault.

Such was the ſituation of affairs when the earl of Marlborough arrived in Holland, in order to aſſume the command of the allied army. The earl of Athlone, who enjoyed the rank of veldt mareſchal, was requeſted by ſome of the Dutch officers to inſiſt upon an equal command with the Engliſh general; but the States obliged him to yield that point in favour of Marlborough, whom they declared generaliſſimo of all their forces. In the beginning of July, he repaired to the army, which was now encamped under the walls of Nimeguen; and which, after calling in the detached parties, he found to amount to about ſixty thouſand men.

The French, who were inferior in number, were commanded by the duke of Burgundy, and under him, by the mareſchal de Boufflers. On the ſixteenth day of the month the earl paſſed the Maeſe, and made ſeveral attempts to bring the enemy to an engagement; but rather than expoſe themſelves to the hazard of a battle, they choſe to abandon the Spaniſh Guelderland, and leave it entirely to the diſcretion of the allies.

The earl did not fail to improve this advantage. He detached general Schultz with a body of troops to attack the town and caſtle of Wertz, which were both ſurrendered after a ſlight reſiſtance. In the beginning of September he undertook the ſiege of Venlo, which capitulated on the twenty-fifth day of the month, after one of the forts had been ſtormed and taken by the Engliſh volunteers under lord Cutts. In this action the young earl of Huntington gave many ſtriking ſpecimens of a martial diſpoſition. Afraid of being left behind by the ſoldiers, who were ruſhing on to the charge, he earneſtly beſought them to aſſiſt him in getting over the palliſadoes, and he would chearfully give them all the money he had in his pocket. The ſoldiers complied with his requeſt: the earl performed his promiſe; and led them on to the attack with equal bravery and ſucceſs.

In the month of October the general inveſted Ruremonde, which he took after a very obſtinate defence, together with Stevenſwaert, both ſituated on the Maeſe. On his arrival at Liege, he found the ſububrs of St. Walbrugh had been ſet on fire by the French garriſon, who had retired into the citadel and the Chatreux. The allies immediately entered the city; and in a few days

days opened their batteries againſt the citadel, which was taken by aſſault. On this occaſion the hereditary prince of Heſſe-Caſſel behaved with remarkable bravery. He charged at the head of the Engliſh grenadiers, was the firſt perſon who mounted the breach, and with his own hands took the colours from a French officer. Violaine, the governour, and the duke of Charoſt, were made priſoners. Three hundred thouſand florins in gold and ſilver were found in the citadel, beſides notes for about twelve hundred thouſand more, drawn upon ſubſtantial merchants in Liege, who paid the money. The whole booty was ſo conſiderable, that an Engliſh grenadier is ſaid to have got a thouſand louis d'ors for his own ſhare. Thus ended the campaign, equally to the advantage of the allies and the honour of the general, who had now eſtabliſhed his military character beyond all controverſy, and entirely ſecured the good will and confidence of the States.

The earl, however, in his return to the Hague, had well nigh met with a misfortune, which had not have been more diſagreable to himſelf, than detrimental to the allies. He propoſed, for the ſake of expedition, to take his paſſage by water; and accordingly embarked on the Maeſe in a ſmall boat with five and twenty

twenty ſoldiers under the command of a lieutenant. Next morning he was joined at Ruremonde by Coehorn, in a large veſſel with ſixty men, and they were moreover eſcorted by fifty troopers, who rode along ſide of the river. The large boat out-ſailed the other, and the horſemen miſtook the way in the dark.

The French were ſtill in poſſeſſion of Gueldres, the only place which they now retained in that province. A party of the garriſon, conſiſting of thirty-five men, were lurking among the ruſhes on the banks of the river, in wait for prey; and obſerving the boat, they ſeized the rope,* by which it was drawn, hauled it aſhore, diſcharged their ſmall arms and hand-grenades, and then ruſhing into it, ſecured the ſoldiers before they could put themſelves in a poſture of defence.

The earl was accompanied by general Opdam, and mynheer Gueldermalſen, one of the deputies of the States. The enemy knew theſe two gentlemen, who were furniſhed with paſſports, according to a civility

* For the ſake of the leſs intelligent reader, it may not be improper to remark, that in moſt of the canals and rivers in the Low-Countries, boats are drawn by ropes fixed to horſes, that are driven along ſide of the river.

lity uſually practiſed by the generals on both ſides; but they were entirely ignorant of the quality of the earl, who had unluckily forgot this neceſſary precaution. Recollecting, however, that he had an old paſſport for his brother, general Churchill, he produced it with great preſence of mind; and the French were in ſuch confuſion that they never examined the date. Nevertheleſs, they rifled the baggage, carried off the guard as priſoners, and allowed the boat to proceed. Marlborough, though already an accompliſhed general, was as yet become ſo little famous, that had he even been known, his paſſport, in all probability, would have been deemed a ſufficient protection. Before the end of the war, however, the caſe was very different. His name, by that time, had ſtruck ſuch a terror into the French, that, had they been favoured with ſuch another opportunity, they would have been ſo far from regarding the ceremony of a paſſport, that they would have conſidered his ſeizure as equal to a victory.

The governor of Venlo, hearing that the earl was ſurprized and conveyed to Gueldres, marched out with his whole garriſon to attack that place. The ſame partial account being tranſmitted to the Hague, filled the inhabi-

tants

tants with the utmoſt conſternation. The States forthwith aſſembling, reſolved, that all their forces ſhould march inſtantly to Gueldres, and threaten the garriſon with the utmoſt extremity, unleſs they would immediately deliver the general. But, before theſe orders could be diſpatched, the earl arrived at the Hague, to the inexpreſſible joy of the people, and was complimented upon his happy eſcape by penſionary Heinſius, in the name of the States.

The allies were almoſt as ſucceſsful on the Rhine as in Flanders. The elector of Bavaria, indeed, who had hitherto profeſſed a neutrality, ſeized the city of Ulm in Swabia, by a ſtratagem, and then declared for France: an inſtance of treachery, which enraged the empire to ſuch a degree, that the diet aſſembled at Ratisbon, and declared war againſt the French king and the duke of Anjou, for having invaded ſeveral fiefs of the empire in Italy, the archbiſhopric of Cologne, and dioceſe of Liege. They even forbad the miniſter of Bavaria to appear in the general diet, and preſented a memorial to his Imperial majeſty, requeſting him to proceed againſt the elector, according to the conſtitutions of the empire.

The French, likewiſe made themſelves maſters of the little town of Newburgh, in the

the circle of Swabia; and prince Lewis of Baden was so much weakened by sending off detachments, that he had hardly remaining above eight thousand men. Nevertheless, with this small army, he conducted himself in such a manner, as might reasonably have been expected from a general of his superior abilities. The French army was divided into two bodies, commanded by the marquis de Villars, and count de Guiscard, who endeavoured to enclose the prince, in his camp near Fridlingen; but he eluded the danger with surprising dexterity.

He repassed the Rhine without opposition; and Villars immediately followed him, intending to fall on his rear. An obstinate engagement ensued, in which the prince was so hard pressed, that his horse was put to flight; but the foot, in obedience to his orders, though almost contrary to his expectations, attacked the enemy with such impetuosity, that he obliged them to retire with considerable loss. The French, however, laid claim to the victory, and even *Te Deum* was sung at Paris on the occasion; but the prince, in order to undeceive the world, called in his detachments, and once more offered the enemy battle, which, however, they thought proper to decline.

Prince

Prince Eugene commanded the Imperialiſts in Italy; but he was ſo totally neglected by the court of Vienna, that his army, the beſt by far which the emperor had, was ſuffered to moulder away for want of recruits and reinforcements. The prince, thus abandoned, could not prevent the duke of Vendome from relieving Mantua, and was obliged to relinquiſh ſome other places he had taken.

Philip, king of Spain, being deſirous of finiſhing the Italian war in perſon, ſet ſail for Naples; and, on his arrival at that place, was viſited by the cardinal legate, with a compliment from the pope, though he could not obtain the inveſtiture of the kingdom from his holineſs. The emperor, however, was ſo offended at the embaſſy, which the pope had ſent to Philip, that he ordered his ambaſſador at Rome, immediately to withdraw.

Prince Eugene underſtanding, that the French, who were forty thouſand ſtrong, intended to attack Luzzara and Guaſtalla, paſſed the Po, with an army of about half that number, and poſted himſelf behind the dyke of Zero, in ſuch a manner, that the enemy were ignorant of his ſituation. He concluded, that, on their arrival at the ground they had choſen, the horſe would march out to forage, while the foot would be employed in pitching

ing tents, and providing for their refreſhment. His deſign was to attack them unawares, while they ſhould be unprepared for reſiſtance; and he was only prevented by a mere accident from carrying his ſcheme into execution. An adjutant, with an advanced guard, had the curioſity to aſcend the Dyke, in order to view the country, when he diſcovered the Imperial infantry lying on their faces, and their horſe in the rear, ranged in order of battle.

Notwithſtanding this diſcovery, the prince advanced to the charge with incredible reſolution; and, after an obſtinate and bloody engagement, obliged the enemy to retire with the loſs of eight thouſand men. But as he was ſo much inferior in point of number, he could not poſſibly maintain his ground: and the French were afterwards able to reduce Luzzara and Guaſtalla; which furniſhed them with a pretence of laying claim to the victory. Prince Eugene, however, preſerved all his poſts; and Philip returned to Spain without having either obtained honour or advantage.

The ſucceſs of the combined ſquadrons did not fully anſwer the expectations of the public. The late king, a little before his death, had formed a deſign to reduce Cadiz; and this ſcheme it was now

propoſed to reſume. The fleet conſiſted of fifty ſhips of the line, thirty Engliſh and twenty Dutch: the former commanded by Sir George Rooke, aſſiſted by the admirals Hopſon, Fairborne, and Graydon: the latter by the admirals Allemond, Callemburgh, Vandergoes, Pieterſon, and Waſſenaer. The tranſports had on board about fourteen thouſand land-forces; the Engliſh headed by the generals Bellaſis, O Hara, and lord Portmore, the colonels Seymour, Hamilton, and Matthews; the Dutch commanded by general Sparre and Brigadier Baron Palandt.

The direction of the whole was committed to the duke of Ormond, who acted as commander in chief. In the latter end of June the fleet ſailed from St. Helens; and on the twelfth day of Auguſt, they anchored at the diſtance of two leagues from Cadiz. Next day the duke of Ormond ſummoned the duke de Brancaccio, the governour, to ſubmit to the houſe of Auſtria; but that officer replied, he would acquit himſelf honourably of the truſt repoſed in him by the king. On the fifteenth, the duke of Ormond landed with his forces in the bay of Bulls, under cover of a ſmart fire from ſome frigates, and repulſed a body of Spaniſh cavalry, who endeavoured to oppoſe him: then

then he ſummoned the governour of fort St. Catharine to ſurrender; and received for anſwer, that the garriſon was determined to hold out to the laſt extremity.

A declaration was publiſhed in the Spaniſh language, importing, that the allies did not come as enemies to Spain; but only to free them from the yoke of France, and aſſiſt them in eſtabliſhing themſelves under the government of the houſe of Auſtria. Theſe profeſſions, however, had very little effect upon the Spaniards, who were either alienated from that family, or provoked at the exceſſes of the Engliſh troops, which having taken poſſeſſion of Port St. Mary's, inſtead of protecting, plundered the natives, notwithſtanding the ſtrict orders iſſued by the duke of Ormond, to prevent this ſhameful practice. A battery was raiſed againſt Montagorda-fort oppoſite to the puntal; but the attempt miſcarried, and the troops were re-embarked.

It is obſervable, that during the whole affair, the troops received no aſſiſtance from the fleet, which lay entirely inactive. This was aſcribed to the treachery of Sir George Rooke, who, being a warm Tory, was ſaid to be averſe not only to this deſign, but even to the war in general. This charge, however, he ſeemed in ſome meaſure to refute

by his conduct at Vigo; though it is difficult to determine, whether in that attempt, he was actuated by a zeal for the ſervice, or a regard to his own ſafety, which, perhaps, he might think in ſome danger, ſhould he return to England without performing ſome action of importance.

Receiving advice, that the galleons, from the Weſt Indies, had put into Vigo under convoy of a French ſquadron, he reſolved to ſail thither, and attack them in that poſture. The paſſage into the harbour was defended by batteries, forts, and breaſtworks on each ſide; by a ſtrong boom, conſiſting of iron-chains, topmaſts, and cables, moored at each end to a ſeventy gun ſhip, and fortified within by five ſhips of the ſame ſtrength, lying acroſs the channel with their broadſides to the ſea.

As the firſt and ſecond rates of the combined fleets were too large to enter, the admirals ſhifted their flags into ſmaller ſhips; and a diviſion of five and twenty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips was deſtined for the ſervice. In order to favour the attack, the duke of Ormond landed with twenty-five hundred men, at the diſtance of two leagues from Vigo, and took by aſſault a fort and platform of thirty-eight pieces of cannon, at the entrance of the harbour.

The

The Britiſh enſign was no ſooner ſeen flying at the top of this fort, than the ſhips advanced to the attack. Vice-admiral Hopſon, in the Torbay, crowding all his ſail, ran directly againſt the boom, which was broken by the firſt ſhock; and the paſſage being thus opened, the whole ſquadron entered the harbour, through a terrible fire from the enemy's ſhips and batteries. Theſe laſt, however, were ſoon ſtormed and taken by the grenadiers, who had landed. The great ſhips lay againſt the forts at each ſide of the harbour, which in little time they ſilenced; though vice-admiral Hopſon narrowly eſcaped from a fire ſhip, by which he was boarded; ſeveral of his men, during the firſt conſternation, having thrown themſelves into the ſea, where they were drowned.

After a moſt deſperate engagement, the French finding themſelves unable to contend with ſuch an adverſary, reſolved to ſet fire to their ſhips and galleons, that they might not fall into the hands of the victors. They accordingly burned eight ſhips and as many advice-boats; but ten ſhips of war were taken, together with eleven galleons. Though they had ſecured a conſiderable part of their plate and merchandize before the combined fleet arrived, the value of fourteen millions of peices of eight, in plate

and rich commodities, was destroyed in six galleons that perished; but about half that value was brought off by the conquerors: so that this was a dreadful blow to the enemy, and a noble acquisition to the allies.

In a few days after this exploit, Sir George Rooke was joined by Sir Cloudesley Shovel, who had been sent out with a squadron to intercept the galleons. This officer was left to bring home the prizes, and destroy the fortifications, while Rooke returned to England, where he was received amidst the acclamations of the people, his success at Vigo having silenced the clamours about the miscarriage before Cadiz.

The English were not so successful in America as in Europe. Admiral Bembow had been detached to the West-Indies with a squadron of ten sail, in quest of Du Casse, who, with a fleet of the same number, was convoying the Spanish duke of Albuquerque to his government of Mexico. On the nineteenth day of August, he came up with the enemy near St. Martha, and an engagement immediately ensued, in which he was basely deserted by most of his captains. Nevertheless, the battle continued till night, and he resolved to renew it next morning, when he perceived all his ships at the distance of three or four miles astern, except the Ruby, com-

commanded by captain George Walton, who joined him in plying the enemy with his chace-guns.

During four days did he thus maintain the fight againſt the whole French ſquadron, though aſſiſted by none but the Ruby and Falmouth. Four of his captains, indeed, obſerving a ſeventy-gun ſhip of the enemy lying like a wreck upon the water, to which condition ſhe had been reduced by the admiral, came up with her, gave her their broadſides, and then ran to leeward, without regarding the ſignal for battle. On the morning of the fourth day, the admiral's leg was ſhattered by a chain-ſhot; but, notwithſtanding this accident, he remained on the quarter-deck in a cradle, and continued the fight till darkneſs put an end to the combat.

On the fifth, he called a council of his captains, and expoſtulated with them on their behaviour. They alledged, that the French were very ſtrong, and adviſed him to deſiſt. He plainly perceived that he was betrayed, and, with the utmoſt reluctance, returned to Jamaica, having not only loſt a leg, but received a large wound in his face, and another in his arm, while he, in perſon, boarded the French admiral.

Enraged at the treachery of his captains, he iſſued a commiſſion to rear-admiral Wheſtone,

tone, and other officers, to hold a court-martial, and try them for cowardice. Hudson of the Pendennis, died before his trial. Kirkby of the Defiance, and Wade of the Greenwich were convicted and sentenced to be shot. Constable of the Windsor, was cashiered and imprisoned. Vincent of the Falmouth, and Fogg, the admiral's own captain, were convicted of having signed a paper, that they would not fight on the present occasion; but, as they had behaved gallantly in the action, the court inflicted upon them no other punishment than that of a suspension, nor was even this to take place until the high-admiral's pleasure should be known. Wade and Kirkby were sent home in the Bristol; and on their arrival at Plymouth, shot on board the ship, by order of a dead warrant for their immediate execution, which had lain there for some time. Bembow himself was so deeply affected by this miscarriage, that he became melancholy, and his grief co-operating with the fever occasioned by his wounds, put a period to his life.

Thus, by the treachery of a few miscreants, who, probably owed their advancement to interest without any personal merit, was England deprived of one of the bravest sea-officers, that ever she produced. In a letter

letter, which he wrote to his wife, after the engagement, he told her, "that the loſs of "his leg did not trouble him half ſo much "as the villainous treachery of his captains, "which had hindered him from totally de-"ſtroying the French ſquadron."

During theſe tranſactions, the queen was employed in ſecuring the affections of her ſubjects. With this view, ſhe made a progreſs to Oxford, Bath, and Briſtol, where ſhe was received with every mark of eſteem and regard. Though the parliament ought regularly to have ſat for ſix months after the king's death, the queen diſſolved it by proclamation; and iſſued writs for electing another, which was appointed to meet on the twentieth day of Auguſt. Her majeſty, it is true, did not openly interpoſe in the elections; but her attachment to the Tories was ſo well known, that it was generally imagined ſhe would be glad to have them choſen. A belief too, had been artfully eſtabliſhed, that the Whigs had loaded the nation with heavy taxes, of which they converted the beſt part to their own private uſes; and theſe circumſtances had ſo far turned the ballance, that the Tories obtained a conſiderable majority.

The parliament meeting, at the time appointed, choſe Mr. Robert Harley their ſpeaker,

ſpeaker and was then prorogued to the twentieth of October. Re-aſſembling at that time, the queen, in her ſpeech to both houſes, obſerved, that ſhe had called them together to aſſiſt her in carrying on the juſt and neceſſary war, in which the nation was engaged: that ſhe was willing the commons ſhould examine the accounts of the public receipts and payments, that if any abuſes or miſmanagements had been committed, they might be detected, and the offenders puniſhed: that the funds eſtabliſhed in the laſt parliament, had not produced the ſums propoſed; and that the deficiency was not ſupplied, even by the hundred thouſand pounds, which ſhe had paid from her own revenue, for the public ſervice: that ſhe was greatly concerned for the diſappointment at Cadiz, as well as for the abuſes committed at Port St. Mary's, which had obliged her to give directions for an enquiry into the particulars: that ſhe hoped they would find time to conſider of ſome better and more effectual method to prevent the exportation of wool, and improve that manufacture, which ſhe was determined to encourage: that ſhe was fully convinced, that the affection of her ſubjects was the ſureſt pledge of their duty and obedience: that ſhe was reſolved to maintain the church as by law eſtabliſhed, and protect

tect her ſubjects in the full enjoyment of their rights and privileges: that ſhe conſidered her intereſt and theirs as inſeparable: and that ſhe ſhould always exert her utmoſt endeavours to make them a happy and flouriſhing people.

The lords returned the uſual addreſs of thanks, congratularing her majeſty on the ſucceſs of her arms under the duke of Marlborough: but the commons, who entertained a moſt rancorous hatred to the memory of king William, greedily laid hold of this firſt opportunity to diſcover their diſpoſition. Among many other invidious circumſtances they remarked, that the wonderful progreſs of her majeſty's arms under the earl of Marlborough had ſignally "retrieved" the ancient honour and glory of the Engliſh nation.

This word "retrieved" was evidently intended to throw a reflection on the memory of the late king, as if the honour of the nation had been loſt in his reign. All thoſe, therefore, who had a proper regard for the memory of that prince, condemned the expreſſion, and inſiſted that the word "maintained" ſhould be ſubſtituted in its place. In ſupport of this opinion, they obſerved, that king William, inſtead of loſing, had carried the honour of the nation to a higher pitch than ever it had before attained: that to him they were indebted

debted for their safety and preservation, and even for the queen's elevation to the throne; and that he had planned and completed that glorious confederacy, at the head of which her majesty was placed.

But, notwithstanding these objections, so bigotted were the prejudices of the Tories, and so great the power of that party, that the retaining the invidious expression, was carried by a majority of a hundred voices. *

The strength of the Tories was still more conspicuous in determining the controverted elections: which were decided in favour of their

* This affair gave rise to a poem, entitled, The Golden Age, in allusion to Virgil's fourth eclogue, composed by Mr. Walsh, member for Worcestershire, and celebrated by Dryden, as the greatest critic of the age. This poem, amongst other excellent lines, contained the following:

Now all our factions, all our fears shall cease,
And Tories rule the promis'd land in peace:
Malice shall die, and noxious poison fail;
Harley shall cease to trick, and Seymour cease to rail.
The lamb shall with the lion walk unhurt,
And Hallifax with How meet civilly at court.
Viceroys, ‡ like providence, with distant care,
Shall govern kingdoms where they ne'er appear.
Pacific admirals, to save the fleet,
Shall fly from conquest, and shall conquest meet.
Commanders shall be prais'd at William's cost,
And honour be *retrieved*, before 'tis lost.

‡ The earl of Rochester, lord-lieutenant of Ireland.

their own party, with ſuch a glaring partiality, that, had they not been loſt to all ſenſe of ſhame, they muſt certainly have bluſhed for their ſucceſs. Two inſtances will ſerve as a ſpecimen.

The borough of Hindon in Saliſbury had received a conſiderable ſum from the gentleman they had choſen. Of this they were now accuſed in the houſe of commons; and the proofs were ſo full and clear, that a bill was introduced for disfranchiſing the town. The perſon, however, who gave the money was a Tory; and that circumſtance rendered him innocent. Thus a borough was voted to loſe its right of election for receiving a bribe; while the perſon, who gave that bribe, was not only ſuffered to eſcape with impunity, but was even honoured with a ſeat in the ſupreme council of the nation.

Of all the addreſſes preſented to the queen on her acceſſion to the throne, that of Glouceſterſhire was the moſt remarkable for its inſolent reflections on the memory of the late king. This addreſs had been drawn up by Mr. John Howe, who had thereby incurred the ſuſpicion of all the more intelligent gentlemen of the county: ſo that when he ſtood candidate for the ſhire, he loſt the election by a great majority. This diſappointment, however, was eaſily reme-

died. The affair was now ſuppoſed to be more favourable. The majority, which he wanted in the county, he obtained in parliament; and, notwithſtanding the trifling circumſtance of his not having been choſen, was declared duly elected. Men poſſeſſed of ſuch rigid notions of equity and fair dealing, were certainly well qualified to conduct the affairs of the nation.

While the Tories aſſumed ſuch liberties to themſelves, they denied to their enemies the moſt innocent freedoms. The biſhop of Worceſter, it ſeems, and his ſon Mr. Lloyd, ſuſpicious of the principles of Sir John Packington, had endeavoured, merely by ſpeaking their ſentiments without malice or prejudice, to prevent his election in that county.

Complaint of this being made to the houſe, they immediately reſolved, that the proceedings of William, lord biſhop of Worceſter, and his ſon, had been malicious, unchriſtian, and arbitrary, in high violation of the liberties and privileges of the commons of England. They even voted an addreſs to the queen, deſiring her to remove that prelate from the office of lord-almoner and they ordered the attorney-general to proſecute the ſon, after his privelege as member of the convocation ſhould be expired.

The

The lords, alarmed at theſe furious proceedings of the commons, preſented a counter addreſs to her majeſty, beſeeching her not to remove the biſhop of Worceſter from his place of lord-almoner, until he ſhould be found guilty of ſome crime by the free courſe of law; as it was the undoubted right of every lord of parliament, and of every ſubject of England, to have an opportunity to make his own defence, before he ſuffered any ſort of puniſhment. The queen gave an anſwer, that plainly diſcovered her propenſity to the Tories. She ſaid, that ſhe had not as yet received any complaint againſt the biſhop of Worceſter; but that ſhe looked upon it as her undoubted right to continue or diſplace any ſervant attending upon her own perſon, when ſhe ſhould think proper. The lords, piqued at this reply, unanimouſly reſolved, that no lord of their houſe ought to ſuffer any ſort of puniſhment by any proceeding of the houſe of commons, otherwiſe than according to the known and ancient rules and methods of parliament.

Notwithſtanding this reſolution, the queen was determined to gratify her favourite party. When the commons, headed by Sir Edward Seymour, preſented their addreſs for the removal of the biſhop,

ſhe ſaid, ſhe was ſorry, there was any occaſion for that addreſs againſt the biſhop of Worceſter; and that he ſhould no longer continue to ſupply the place of her almoner. The next almoner, we ſuppoſe, if he underſtood his own intereſt, would be more cautious in ſpeaking againſt a Tory. After ſuch unuſual marks of indulgence from the throne, the commons could not be ſo ungrateful as to refuſe the demands of the miniſtry, with which they now readily complied. They voted 40,000 ſeamen, and the like number of land-forces, to act in conjunction with thoſe of the allies. For the maintenance of theſe laſt, they granted eight hundred and thirty-three thouſand eight hundred and twenty-ſix pounds; beſides three hundred and fifty thouſand pounds for guards and garriſons; ſeventy thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-three pounds for the ordnance; and fifty-one thouſand eight hundred and forty-three pounds for ſubſidies to the allies.

The lord Shannon arriving with news of the ſucceſs at Vigo, the queen appointed a day of public thankſgiving for the ſignal ſucceſs of her arms under the earl of Marlborough, the duke of Ormond, and Sir George Rooke; and on that day, which was the twelfth of November, ſhe went in ſtate to St. Paul's church, attended by both houſes

houſes of parliament. Next day the peers preſented the thanks of their houſe to the duke of Ormond, for his ſervices at Vigo; and at the ſame time drew up an addreſs to the queen, deſiring ſhe would cauſe the duke of Ormond and Sir George Rooke to lay before them an account of their proceedings: a requeſt with which her majeſty complied. Theſe two officers likewiſe received the thanks of the houſe of commons, and vice-admiral Hopſon was knighted, and gratified with a penſion of five hundred pounds a year, together with a reverſion of three hundred a year for his wife.

The duke of Ormond, upon his return from the expedition, complained openly of Rooke's conduct, and ſeemed reſolved to ſubject him to a public trial: but that officer was ſo great a favourite with the commons, and, of conſequence, with the court, that means were eaſily found to ſcreen him from an impeachment. In order to appeaſe the duke of Ormond, he was honoured with the lord-lieutenancy of Ireland; and Rooke, as an approbation of his conduct, was admitted into the privy-council.

Ormond, however, though in ſome meaſure mollified by this poſt, continued to complain to the houſe of peers; and a committee

was appointed to enquire into the matter, Rooke himself, with the other admirals and land-officers were summoned before the committee, and examined on the subject. Rooke alledged, in his own defence, that the design upon Cadiz was ill concerted, and absolutely impracticable, and the ministry acknowledged the truth of his assertion. In other words, in order to acquit their favourite admiral of the charge of treachery they were willing to subject themselves to the same imputation: and indeed it was shrewdly suspected, that both of them were equally guilty, and deserved to be brought to the same public punishment.

The committee, however, were so little satisfied with Rooke's defence, that they drew up an unfavourable report, and laid it before the house: but it was rejected by a considerable majority; and a vote passed in Rooke's favour, importing, that he had done his duty, pursuant to the councils of war, like a brave officer, to the honour of the British nation. Several of the members were supposed to have been gained over by the court, which exerted itself strenuously on this occasion; and it is not impossible that many might be guided by the dictates of their own conscience. They probably thought, that Rooke, though guilty of the miscar-

miſcarriage before Cadiz, had ſufficiently attoned for that fault, by his ſucceſs at Vigo; and that nothing could be more unpopular, and ſeemingly unjuſt, than to inflict any diſgrace or puniſhment on a man, who had performed ſuch a ſignal ſervice to the nation.

The next affair, which came under their conſideration, was of a nature ſtill more delicate, and attended with more warm diſputes. The prince of Denmark was ſo much older than the queen, and troubled with ſuch a violent aſthma, that it was generally imagined he could not ſurvive her: nevertheleſs, her majeſty thought it her duty, as a good wife, to provide againſt all contingencies, and ſhe therefore ſent a meſſage to the lower houſe, recommending ſome further proviſion for her huſband, in caſe of his ſurvivance.

This meſſage being conſidered, Mr. How moved, that the yearly ſum of one hundred thouſand pounds ſhould be ſettled on the prince, in caſe of that event. No oppoſition was made to the propoſal; but warm debates aroſe upon a clauſe in the bill, exempting the prince from that part of the act of ſucceſſion, by which ſtrangers, though naturalized, were declared incapable of holding employments. This part of the act related only to thoſe, who ſhould be naturalized in a future reign; but had no reſpect to ſuch as had obtained

tained that advantage in the late reign, or ſhould obtain it in the preſent.

Two capital objections lay againſt the clauſe of exemption. The firſt was, that it ſeemed to imply, that perſons, who were already naturalized, would be excluded from employments in the next reign, though actually poſſeſſed of the right of natural born ſubjects; a conſequence plainly contradictory to the meaning of the act of ſucceſſion. The other was, that the lords had already reſolved by a vote, that they would not paſs any bill ſent up from the commons, to which any clauſe foreign to the bill ſhould be tacked; and that clauſe of exemption was evidently foreign to the preſent bill, as an incapacity to hold employments, was a circumſtance altogether diſtinct from a ſettlement in money.

For theſe reaſons, ſtrong oppoſition was made to the clauſe; but as the queen intereſted herſelf with great warmth in the matter, the bill, with the additional clauſe, from which the commons refuſed to recede, was at laſt carried through both houſes, though not without a formal proteſt by four and thirty peers.

The truth is, the clauſe was altogether unneceſſary; though it probably anſwered the intention of thoſe who thought fit to inſert it. Theſe were the Tories. They knew that

that it would be violently oppoſed by all the more zealous Whigs from very laudable motives; from a juſt regard to the memory of the late king, and the honour of thoſe whom he had favoured with the right of natives: and as they imagined the queen would never take the trouble of inquiring into theſe motives, but would conſider their oppoſition to the clauſe, as a proof of their averſion to the bill in general, they hoped they ſhould be able to perſuade her, that the whole of that party were, in their hearts, enemies to her and her government. Her majeſty, indeed, appeared already to have contracted ſome ſtrong prejudices againſt the Whigs; whether theſe were not confirmed by the preſent incident, will appear in the ſequel.

The earl of Marlborough returning to England on the twenty-eighth of November, received the thanks of the commons for the great and ſignal ſervices, which he had performed to the nation. The queen too was ſo well ſatisfied with his conduct, that ſhe created him a duke, indulged him with a penſion of five thouſand pounds upon the revenue of the poſt-office during his natural life; and ſent a meſſage to the commons, deſiring that they would find ſome method to ſettle it upon the heirs-male of his body.

This

This meſſage occaſioned a warm debate, in the courſe of which Sir Chriſtopher Muſgrave obſerved, that he would not derogate from the duke's eminent ſervices, but that, in his opinion, his grace was very well paid for them by the profitable employments, which he and his dutcheſs enjoyed. The duke hearing, that the commons were averſe to the propoſal, entreated her majeſty rather to forego her gracious meſſage on his behalf, than create animoſities, which might embarraſs her affairs, or be of ill conſequence to the public. The queen therefore ſent another meſſage to the houſe, importing that the duke of Marlborough had declined her interpoſition.

The commons, however, were ſo fully convinced of the duke's merit, that they reſolved to preſent an addreſs to her majeſty, containing the reaſons of their non compliance, or rather, in effect, expreſſing their implacable hatred to the memory of the late king: as the only reaſons they aſſigned were evidently calculated to anſwer that purpoſe. They again made uſe of the invidious phraſe "of retrieving the honour and glory of the "nation:" they ſaid that the duke deſerved the higheſt praiſes for having, by his negociations, eſtabliſhed an entire confidence and good underſtanding between her majeſty and the

the States-general, and thereby vindicated the "gentlemen" of England, who had, by the "vile practices of designing men," been traduced, and industriously represented as false to her majesty's allies, because they were true to the interest of their country: and they alledged they were apprehensive of making a precedent to alienate the revenue of the crown, which had been so much "reduced by the exhorbitant grants of the "late reign," and so lately settled and secured by her majesty's unparalleled grace and goodness.

The word "gentlemen," is remarkable; and this perhaps is the first instance of its being used by a house of commons in an address to their sovereign. The Tories have always assumed to themselves the honourable appellation of "gentlemen," or the "landed-gentlemen." It is to be hoped, however, that, if there was not a "monied "man," or "merchant," in the kingdom, there is a sufficient number of landed-gentlemen in England, who, at the hazard of their lives and fortunes, would preserve the constitution of their country, and the rights and privileges of the people. The Tories indeed, profess to be judged by the same principles; but it would be extremely difficult to reconcile their conduct in the different

ferent periods of the Engliſh government to theſe profeſſions.

The queen admitted the apology of the commons; but their refuſal, in all probability, helped to alienate the duke from the Tories, with whom he had hitherto been connected. Some ſevere reflections were made upon the queen's conduct, as well as upon that of the duke. A ſatirical piece was handed about, in which, among other things, it was affirmed, "that her majeſty "deſigned to give to one duke * all the "gold, which the other † had brought "from Vigo."

In the beginning of January, ‡ the queen informed the commons, that the States-general had preſſed her to augment her forces, as the only means to defeat the great and early preparations of the enemy. In conſequence of this intimation, the commons reſolved, that ten thouſand men ſhould be hired, as an augmentation of the forces to act in conjunction with the allies; but on this expreſs condition, that an immediate ſtop ſhould be put to all commerce and correſpondence with France and Spain on the part of the States-general. The lords preſented an addreſs to her majeſty on the ſame

* Marlborough. † Ormond. ‡ A. D. 1703.

ſame ſubject, and to the ſame effect. The queen replied, that the condition was, no doubt, indiſpenſably neceſſary; that ſhe hoped it would be readily admitted; and that ſhe would immediately diſpatch directions to her miniſter in Holland, to concur with the States in providing the forces accordingly.

The reaſon, that induced the two houſes to inſiſt ſo ſtrenuouſly on this topic was a diſcovery lately made, by which it appeared, that the French king, at this very time, remitted money to the elector of Bavaria in Germany, and his forces in Italy, through the channel of Engliſh, Dutch, and Geneva merchants.

The Dutch, though convinced of the equity of the condition, were ſomewhat piqued at the imperious manner, in which it was propoſed. Conſcious, however, that their intereſt was inſeparable from that of the allies, they reſolved to yield a ready compliance; and accordingly publiſhed a prohibition of all commerce with the ſubjects of France and Spain.

The Tories, not yet ſatisfied with the various triumphs, which they had obtained over the Whigs, were determined to ſignalize their victory in a ſtill more open manner; and as the pretence of religion is al-

ways an excellent cloak to conceal a political project, they resolved to lay hold of this circumstance as the best means of accomplishing their favourite purpose. They knew, that a considerable part of the Whig-interest lay among the dissenters; and they imagined, that if they could once exclude these last from offices of trust and magistracies of corporations, they should for ever secure to their own party the elections of all future parliaments, and by consequence the whole management of the civil administration.

With this view Mr. Bromley, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Annesley were ordered by the house of commons to bring in a bill for preventing occasional conformity. It enacted, that all those, who had taken the sacrament and test for offices of trust, or magistracies of corporations, and afterwards frequented any meeting of dissenters, should be disabled from holding their employments, pay a fine of one hundred pounds, and five pounds for every day, in which they continued to act in their employments, after having been at any such meetings; that they should be incapable of holding any other employment, till after one whole year's conformity: and that, upon relapse, the penalties and time of incapacity should be doubled.

It

It is remarkable, that, in the preamble to this bill, all perſecution for conſcience ſake is condemned; but how this profeſſion of lenity can be reconciled to the cruelty of excluding men from offices and places of truſt, merely on a religious pretence, is ſomewhat difficult to conjecture. The Tories however, ſeem to have been as little anxious about conſiſtency in their reaſoning as in their conduct: that paltry virtue they left to thoſe, whom they affected to deſpiſe and cordially hated.

In ſupport of the bill it was alledged, that an eſtabliſhed religion and national church were abſolutely neceſſary, when ſo many impious men pretended to inſpiration, and deluded ſuch numbers of the people: that the moſt effectual way to preſerve this national church was by maintaining the civil power in the hands of thoſe, who expreſſed their regard to the church in their principles and practice: that the parliament, by the corporations and teſt-acts, thought they had provided a ſufficient barrier to the hierachy; never imagining that a ſet of men would riſe up, "whoſe conſciences would be too tender to obey the laws, but hardened enough "to break them:" that as the laſt reign began with an act in favour of the diſſenters, ſo the commons were deſirous, that, in the

beginning of her majesty's auspicious reign; an act should pass in favour of the church of England; "so that those men might be "kept out of offices, who have shewn that, "when they had the power, they never "wanted the will, to destroy the church:" that a separation from the church, to which a man's conscience will allow him occasionally to conform, is a mere schism, which in itself was sinful, without the superaddition of a temporal law to make it an offence: and that conforming and non-conforming were contradictions; for, nothing but a firm persuasion that the terms of communion required are sinful and unlawful, can justify the one; and this plainly condemns the other.

In opposition to the bill it was urged, that the dissenters were generally well affected to the present establishment: that to subject them to any real hardships, or give any cause for jealousies and fears at such a juncture, might be attended with the most dangerous consequences: that the toleration greatly contributed to the security and reputation of the church, and plainly proved, that liberty of conscience and gentle measures were the most effectual means of encreasing the votaries of the church, and diminishing the number of dissenters: that

that, in the opinion of every candid and impartial judge, the laſt and the preſent reign began upon the ſame principle; and as in this reign her majeſty had been generouſly pleaſed to promiſe a liberty of conſcience, ſo in the laſt the church had ever met with protection and ſupport: that it was equally cruel and unjuſt to ſay, "that the diſſenters never wanted the will, "when they had the power, to deſtroy the "church;" ſince in the laſt and greateſt danger, to which the church was expoſed, they zealouſly aſſiſted her againſt the Papiſts, their common enemies; and have ever ſince continued to ſhow every mark of affection and ſubmiſſion to the government in church and ſtate: that the diſſenters could not properly be termed ſchiſmatics, without bringing a heavy charge upon the church of England, which had not only tolerated ſuch ſchiſm, but even allowed communion with the reformed churches abroad: that this bill would inflict a ſecond puniſhment on thoſe who had fled from France for their religion, and might even be employed as an argument to juſtify the perſecutions in that kingdom: that it was by no means a certain inference, that, becauſe a man receives the ſacrament in the church, he can therefore comply in every other particular; occaſional conformity was a ſtep, that carried many to a greater length; and it was cer-

certainly cruel, as well as impolitic, to punish a man so severely for an act, which might finally bring him into the bosom of the church: that the penalties of this bill were more severe than those which the law imposed on Papists for assisting at the most solemn acts of their religion; a Papist convict, as soon as he conforms, and receives the sacrament, is immediately cleared, and capable of enjoying any office; but a Protestant dissenter, who shall be so unhappy as to step into a meeting, is incapacitated for one year, and if he relapses, for two years, and so in proportion; that before the act of toleration, conventicles were illegal; since that period they are tolerated by law: that, nevertheless, if any man in office was then present at these assemblies, he was only liable to a fine of ten pounds; whereas now he is liable to a fine of an hundred pounds; and it seems unreasonable to render the same action ten times more penal after it is permitted, than when it was prohibited.

These arguments, however forcible, were little regarded by the commons: they were determined, at all events, to effect their favourite purpose; and the bill accordingly passed by virtue of a considerable majority. The lords, apprehensive that the commons would tack it to some money bill, voted, that the annexing any clause to a money-

bill

bill was contrary to the conſtitution of the Engliſh government, and the uſage of parliament.

The bill was ſtrongly oppoſed in the upper houſe, from a juſt ſuſpicion of the pernicious purpoſes, which it was calculated to ſerve. Moſt peers believed, that, beſides the original deſign of ſecuring entirely the election of parliaments, the Tories intended it as a preparatory ſtep towards the repeal of the toleration; and perhaps hoped, by this quarrel, to raiſe ſuch diſturbances at home, as would diſcourage the allies abroad, and render the proſecution of the war impracticable. The majority of the biſhops, and among theſe Burnet of Sarum, argued againſt it from principles of moderation and motives of conſcience.

The Tories, however, were aſſiſted by the whole intereſt of the court. Even prince George of Denmark,* though himſelf an occaſional conformiſt, voted for it; as did likewiſe the earl of Marlborough, and lord Go-

* The prince was obliged to take the ſacrament as lord high Admiral; but he ſtill kept his chapel in the Lutheran communion: and his preſent compliance was ſuppoſed to have been owing to the importunity of the queen. For when he came to the houſe to vote for the bill, he is reported to have ſaid to lord Wharton, who was on the oppoſite ſide; "my heart is vid you."

Godolphin: at laſt it was carried by a ſmall majority; though with ſuch alterations and amendments as the commons refuſed to admit. The lower houſe alledged, that the lords had no right to alter any fines and penalties, which the commons ſhould fix in bills ſent up for their concurrence, on pretence, that theſe were matters concerning money, the peculiar privilege of the commons.

In order to refute this allegation, the lords ordered a minute enquiry to be made into all the rolls of parliament ſince the reign of Henry the ſeventh; and a great number of inſtances were found, in which the lords had begun the clauſes impoſing fines and penalties, altered the penalties which had been fixed by the commons, and even changed the uſes to which they were applied. Theſe precedents were entered in their books: but the commons took a ſhorter and more expeditious method; they refuſed to enter into any diſcuſſion or enquiry; and would advance no other proofs of their claim than their own aſſertion. After long debates and a free conference between the two houſes, the lords adhered to their amendments: the commons perſiſted in rejecting them: the bill miſcarried: and both parties publiſhed their

their proceedings, as a vindication of their own conduct.

It is obſervable, that the biſhops, who generally voted againſt the bill, were repreſented by the Tories as enemies to the church, and friends to the Diſſenters. The only apology that can be offered for their accuſers is, that men, heated by the ſpirit of party, frequently violate the rules of juſtice, of decency, and even of probability; for ſurely the charge againſt the biſhops was liable to all theſe exceptions.

While this bill was depending, Daniel de Foe, who had been a hoſier in London, and had lately publiſhed a ſevere ſatire, intitled, "The true-born Engliſhman," now undertook to ridicule the immoderate zeal of the high-churchmen, in a pamphlet, called, "The ſhorteſt way with the Diſſenters: or, "propoſals for the eſtabliſhment of the "church." Several perſons of both parties were at firſt amuſed with it, not knowing the author's deſign: but it was not long before his real intention was diſcovered. It began with ſuch ſevere reflections on the Diſſenters, and their principles, that, for ſome time, it was ſuppoſed to be the work of a violent churchman, and met with applauſe from ſome of that party in the two univerſities.

The

The author after his reflections, proceeds to demonstrate, that the representatives of the nation had now an opportunity, and perhaps the only one they should ever have, to secure the church of England, and destroy her enemies, under the favour and protection of a "true English queen:" that now was the time to pull up that heretical weed of sedition, which had so long disturbed the peace of the church, and choaked the good grain: that if it should be objected, that this renewing of fire and faggot would be cruel and barbarous, he answered that it was, no doubt, cruel to kill a snake or toad in cold blood; but considering their poisonous nature, it was an act of charity to our neighbours to destroy these creatures, not for any injury received, but by way of prevention; not for the evil they have done, but the evil they may do: and that as serpents, toads, and vipers, are noxious to the body, and poison the sensitive life, so the dissenters poison the soul, corrupt our posterity, ensnare our children, destroy the vitals of our happiness, and contaminate the whole mass; and therefore they ought to be rooted out of the nation, if ever we would live in peace, serve God, and enjoy our own.

The author's intention was no sooner discovered, than the commons ordered the pam-

pamphlet to be burned by the common hangman, and De Foe to be profecuted. He pleaded for himſelf, that he only gave the violent churchmen their own language, or at moſt, the ſenſe of their own expreſſions; when they talked "of hanging out "bloody colours and banners of defiance:" but notwithſtanding this apology, he was condemned to pay a fine of two hunured pounds, and ſtand in the pillory.

A bill was now brought into the lower houſe, granting another year's conſideration to thoſe, who had not taken the oath abjuring the pretended prince of Wales. The lords added three clauſes, importing, that thoſe perſons, who ſhould take the oath within the limited time, might return to their benefices and employments, provided they were not already filled: that any perſon endeavouring to defeat the ſucceſſion to the crown, as now limited by law, ſhould be deemed guilty of high treaſon: and that the oath of abjuration ſhould be impoſed upon the ſubjects of Ireland.

The Tories in the lower houſe were confounded at the ſecond clauſe; but were aſhamed to oppoſe it. They therefore directed their whole ſtrength againſt the firſt, in hopes of raiſing a diſpute between the two houſes. Nevertheleſs the queſtion

being put, whether they ſhould agree to the amendments of the lords? it was carried in the affirmative by one voice. Thus was a new ſecurity provided, both in England and Ireland, for a Proteſtant ſucceſſor; and it was a matter of equal joy and ſurprize to every friend of his country, to ſee a bill, begun in favour of the Jacobites, turned againſt them with redoubled force.

MVSEVM BRITANNICVM

End of the THIRTIETH VOLUME.